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# East Europe Report

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5 SEPTEMBER 1986

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## LIST OF TOP 100 INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES PUBLISHED

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 31 Jul 86 pp 5-6

[Article by Gy.V. (Dr Gyorgy Varga): "The Club of 100"]

[Text] This year we are publishing earlier than last year (FIGYELO, 29 Aug 85) the ranking by size of Hungary's industrial trusts, and the list of the top 100 industrial enterprises. The list that FIGYELO compiled in cooperation with the Central Statistical Office shows that the upsurge of changes in rank, which began in 1984, continued through 1985 and even intensified somewhat.

Ranked on the basis of their 1985 output in value terms, the list of enterprises comprising the Club of 100 shows six new members: the Microelectronics Enterprise, in 76th place; the Orion Radio and Electrical Enterprise, in 83d place; the Measuring Instrument Factory Automation Works, in 87th place; the Labor Instrument Industry Works, in 91st place; the Grain Trading and Milling Industry Service Enterprise, in 95th place; and the Tisza Shoe Factory, in 96th place. This last enterprise dropped out in 1984 and is thus returning to the Club of 100.

## List of Trusts

Rank by output value		Name of trust	Rank by 1985			
85	84		Per- son- nel	Gross fixed assets	Export sales	Domes- tic sales
1	1	National Petroleum & Gas Industry Trust (Orszagos Koolaj es Gazipari Troszt)	3	2	1	1
2	2	Hungarian Power Plants Trust (Magyar Villamosmuvek Troszt)	1	1	6	2
3	3	Livestock Trading & Meat Industry Trust (Allatforgalmi es Husipari Troszt)	2	5	2	3
4	4	Grain Trust (Gabona Troszt)	4	4	5	4
5	5	Hungarian Aluminum Industry Trust (Magyar Aluminiumpari Troszt)	5	3	3	5
6	6	Dairy Industry Enterprises Trust (Tejipari Vallalatok Trosztje)	6	7	4	6
7	8	Brick & Tile Industry Trust (Tegla- es Cserepipari Troszt)	7	6	7	7

Rank by output value		List of Enterprises				Rank by 1985			
		Name of enterprise				Per- son- nel	Gross fixed assets	Export sales	Domes- tic sales
85	84								
1	1	Danube Petroleum Industry Enterprise (Dunai Koolajipari Vallalat)				.	5	2	1
2	2	Great Alfold Petroleum & Natural Gas Ent. (Nagyalfoldi Koolaj- es Foldgaztermelo Vallalat)				81	8	83	2
3	3	Hungarian Railroad Car & Machine Factory (Magyar Vagon- es Gepgyar; Raba)				3	7	3	14
4	4	Icarus Body and Vehicle Factory (Ikarus Karosszeria- es Jarmugyar)				16	41	1	95
5	5	Tisza Chemical Combine (Tiszai Vegyi Kombinat)				29	11	7	8
6	6	Tisza Petroleum Industry Enterprise (Tiszai Koolajipari Vallalat; TIFO)				.	33	21	3
7	7	Danube Iron Works (Dunai Vasmu)				11	2	20	6
8	8	Paper Industry Enterprise (Papiripari Vallalat)				8	4	52	4
9	10	Videoton Electronics Enterprise (Videoton Elektronikai Vallalat)				2	35	4	40
10	9	Lenin Metallurgical Works (Lenin Kohaszati Muvek)				4	6	14	11
11	13	Csepel Automobile Factory (Csepel Autogyar)				17	40	64	9
12	12	Ozd Metallurgical Works (Ozdi Kohaszati Uzemek; OKU)				7	14	16	17
13	15	Szekesfehervar Light Metal Works (Szekesfehervari Konnyufemmu)				62	20	15	21
14	14	Borsod Chemical Combine (Borsodi Vegyi Kombinat)				25	12	22	18
15	11	Vegetable Oil Industry & Detergent Pro- ducing Enterprise (Novenyolajipari es Mososzergyarto Vallalat)				93	44	9	29
16	16	Taurus Rubber Industry Enterprise (Taurus Gumiipari Vallalat)				13	38	11	32
17	17	Kobanya Pharmaceutical Factory (Kobanyai Gyogyszerarugyar)				30	31	5	70
18	30	Petroleum and Natural Gas Producing Ent. (Koolaj & Foldgazbanyaszati Vallalat; KPV)				51	30	.	12
19	21	Hungarian Power Plants Trust (Magyar Villamosmuvek Troszt)				.	.	.	13
20	18	Budapest Municipal Gas Works (Fovarosi Gazmuvek)				95	22	.	15

## List of Enterprises (continued)

Rank by output value		Name of enterprise	Rank by 1985			
85	84		Per- son- nel	Gross fixed assets	Export sales	Domes- tic sales
21	19	Danube Thermal Power Plant Enterprise (Dunamenti Hőerőmű Vállalat)	.	15	.	16
22	20	Tungsram Corporation	1	32	6	.
23	25	Chinoin Pharmaceuticals & Chemicals Fac- tory, Ltd (Chinoin Gyógyszer és Vegy- eszeti Termékek Gyára, Rt)	42	55	8	.
24	24	Glass Industry Works (Üvegipari Művek)	6	27	51	28
25	28	Trans-Tisza Gas Distribution Enterprise (Tiszaantúli Gázszolgáltatató Vállalat, TIGAZ)	89	54	.	19
26	23	Tisza Power Plant Enterprise (Tiszai Erőmű Vállalat)	.	18	.	20
27	54	Paks Nuclear Power Plant Enterprise (Paksi Atomerőmű Vállalat; PAV)	.	1	.	25
28	22	Cement and Lime Works (Cement és Mészművek)	24	3	.	30
29	26	Pet Nitrogen Works (Peti Nitrogen Művek)	63	16	10	64
30	27	Nitrochemical Industrial Plants (Nitrokémia Ipartelepek)	44	42	43	33
31	29	Ganz-Mavag Locomotive, Railroad Car & Machine Factory (Ganz-Mavag Mozdony-, Vagon- és Gépgyár)	12	24	17	50
32	31	Hungarian Cable Works (Magyar Kábel Művek; MKM)	80	49	44	37
33	33	Csepel Works Metalworking Plant (Csepel Művek Fémmű)	.	53	59	36
34	37	United Pharmaceutical Factory (EGIS Gyógyszergyár)	59	57	13	87
35	35	Csepel Works Iron & Steel Mill (Csepel Művek Vasú)	72	60	67	38
36	36	Tatabánya Coal Mines (Tatabányai Szénbányák)	10	17	.	35
37	39	Budapest Confectionery Enterprise (Budapest Édesipari Vállalat)	90	.	.	31
38	44	Gagarin Thermal Power Plant Enterprise (Gagarin Hőerőmű Vállalat)	.	21	.	34
39	38	Ajka Alumina & Aluminum Factory (Ajkaí Tüföldgyár és Alumíniumkohó)	91	43	19	.
40	34	Joint Enterprise for the Concentration of Metallurgical Raw Materials (Kohászati Alapanyagelőkészítő Közös Vállalat)	87	78	.	41

## List of Enterprises (continued)

Rank by output value		Name of enterprise	R a n k b y 1 9 8 5			
85	84		Per- son- nel	Gross fixed assets	Export sales	Domes- tic sales
41	61	Veszprem Coal Mines (Veszpremi Szénbányák)	14	37	.	39
42	52	Refrigeration Equipment Factory (Hűtőgépgyár)	39	85	33	65
43	50	Ganz-Danubius Shipyard & Crane Factory (Ganz-Danubius Hajó- és Darugyár)	22	45	12	.
44	43	Diosgyor Machine Factory (Diosgyori Gépgyár; DIGEP)	20	63	24	86
45	51	Budaprint Cotton Printing Industry Ent. (Budaprint Pámatnyomóipari Vállalat)	15	48	38	68
46	48	Medicor Works (Medicor Művek)	19	84	18	.
47	47	Borsod Coal Mines (Borsodi Szénbányák)	5	34	.	42
48	42	Győr-Sopron Megye Livestock Trading and Meat Industry Ent. (Győr-Sopron Megyei Állatforgalmi és Húsipari Vállalat)	.	.	31	92
49	45	Pápa Meat Combine (Pápai Húskombinat)	.	.	28	.
50	41	Gyula Meat Combine (Gyulai Húskombinat)	.	.	41	80
51	66	South Alföld Gas Distribution Enterprise (Délalföldi Gázszolgáltatató Vállalat)	.	74	.	43
52	59	Mecsek Coal Mines (Mecseki Szénbányák)	9	28	.	46
53	40	Szeged Salami Factory & Meat Combine (Szegedi Szalámgépgyár és Húskombinat; PICK)	.	.	37	90
54	56	Salgotarján Metallurgical Works (Salgotarjáni Kohászati Üzemek)	78	93	99	52
55	53	Zala Petroleum Industry Enterprise (Zalai Kőolajipari Vállalat)	.	.	77	53
56	62	Graboplast Cotton Mill & Synthetic Leather Factory of Győr (Graboplast Győri Pámat- szó és Műbörgyár)	94	81	49	72
57	65	Beloianisz Telecommunication Equipment Factory (BHG Híradástechnikai Vállalat)	18	95	27	.
58	76	Petroleum Prospecting Enterprise (Kőolajkutató Vállalat)	77	51	.	48
59	70	Matra Foothills Coal Mines (Matraaljai Szénbányák)	27	36	.	44
60	55	Concrete & Reinforced-Concrete Ind. Works (Beton- és Vasbetonipari Művek)	31	58	.	47



## List of Enterprises (continued)

Rank by output value		Name of enterprise	Rank by 1985			
85	84		Per- son- nel	Gross fixed assets	Export sales	Domes- tic sales
61	49	Szekszard Meat Industry Enterprise (Szekszardi Húsipari Vállalat)	.	76	30	.
62	64	Budapest Thermal Power Plant Enterprise (Budapesti Hőerőmű Vállalat)	.	39	.	45
63	46	Budapest Meat Industry Enterprise (Budapesti Húsipari Vállalat)	.	.	.	56
64	80	Biogal Pharmaceutical Factory (Biogal Gyógyszergyár)	.	.	63	73
65	74	North Hungary Chemical Works (Északmagyarországi Vegyiművek)	.	59	56	75
66	60	Tisza Chemical Works (Tiszamenti Vegyiművek)	.	83	.	55
67	82	Hungarian Optical Works (Magyar Optikai Művek; MOM)	21	72	26	.
68	58	Budapest Dairy Industry Enterprise (Budapesti Tejipari Vállalat)	.	.	.	71
69	57	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megye Livestock Trading & Meat Industry Enterprise (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Állatforgalmi és Húsipari Vállalat)	.	.	57	93
70	69	Masterfil Cotton Spinning Enterprise (Masterfil Pamutfonóipari Vállalat)	37	64	.	54
71	32	Komárom Petroleum Industry Enterprise (Komáromi Kőolajipari Vállalat)	.	68	.	63
72	63	Compack Commercial Packaging Enterprise (Compack Kereskedelmi Csomagoló Vállalat)	.	.	.	51
73	67	Budapest Chemical Works (Budapesti Vegyiművek)	.	.	.	58
74	72	Baranya Megye Livestock Trading & Meat Industry Enterprise (Baranya Megyei Állat- forgalmi és Húsipari Vállalat)	.	.	46	.
75	77	Hungarian Refrigeration Industry Ent. (Magyar Hűtőipari Vállalat)	54	52	74	82
76		Microelectronics Enterprise (Mikroelektronikai Vállalat)	52	56	92	77
77	84	Machine-Tool Industry Works (Szerszámgépipari Művek; SZIM)	43	87	39	.
78	85	Oroszlány Coal Mines (Oroszlányi Szenbányák)	23	29	.	57
79	68	Kaposvár Meat Combine (Kaposvári Húskombinat)	.	65	36	.
80	94	Dorog Coal Mines (Dorogi Szenbányák)	33	69	.	60

## List of Enterprises (continued)

Rank by output value	85	84	Name of enterprise	Rank by 1985			
				Per- son- nel	Gross fixed assets	Export sales	Domes- tic sales
81	83		Buda Varnish, Paint & Synthetic Resin Factory (Budalakk- Festek es Mgyantagyar)	.	.	.	61
82	79		Hungaria Plastics Fabrication Enterprise (Hungaria Mnyagfeldolgozo Vallalat)	.	66	.	74
83			Orion Radio and Electrical Enterprise (Orion Radio es Villamosagi Vallalat)	53	.	.	76
84	81		Alkaloid Chemical Factory (Alkaloida Vegyeszeti Gyar)	.	90	40	.
85	93		Central Trans-Danubian Gas Distribution Enterprise (Kozepdanantuli Gasszolgaltato Vallalat; KOGAZ)	.	88	.	59
86	90		Caola Cosmetics & Household Chemicals In- dustry Enterprise (Caola Kosmetikai es Hartartasvegyipari Vallalat)	.	.	.	66
87			Measuring Instruments Factory Automation Works (MMG-AM), Budapest	48	.	54	.
88	78		Household Textile Ent., Szombathely (Lakastextil Vallalat; LATEX)	32	80	.	67
89	75		Pest-Nograd Megye Livestock Trading & Meat Industry Enterprise (Pest-Nograd Megyei Allatforgalmi es Husipari Vallalat)	.	.	.	88
90	91		Kotanya Brewery (Kobanyai Sörgyar)	68	77	.	23
91			Labor Instrument Industry Works (Labor Muszeripari Muevek)	.	.	65	.
92	38		Budapest Power Utility (Budapesti Elektromos Muevek)	88	9	.	5
93	73		Ganz Electrical Works (Ganz Villamosagi Muevek)	38	70	60	.
94	71		Hajdu-Bihar Megye Livestock Trading & Meat Industry Enterprise (Hajdu-Bihar Megyei Allatforgalmi es Husipari Vallalat)	.	.	50	.
95			Grain Trading and Milling Industry Ser- vice Enterprise (Gatonaforgalmi es Malomipari Szolgaltato Vallalat)	.	.	.	.
96			Tisza Shoe Factory (Tisza Cipogyar)	40	.	79	94
97	100		North Trans-Danubian Power Supply Ent. (Eszakdanantuli Aranszolgaltato Vallalat)	65	13	.	7
98	99		Hajdusag Industrial Works (Hajdusagi Iparmuevek; HIM)	86	.	.	79
99	87		Precision Engineering Enterprise (Finommechanikai Vallalat; FMV)	50	.	23	.
100	95		Almasfuzito Alumina Factory (Almasfuzitoi Tinfoldgyar)	.	91	25	.



The following enterprises dropped out from the Club of 100 in 1985: the Kecskemet Poultry Processing Enterprise (Kecskemeti Baromfifeldolgozo Vallalat), the Budapest Leather Industry Enterprise (Budapesti Boripari Vallalat), the Bekes Megye Grain Trading and Milling Industry Enterprise (Bekes Megyei Gabonaforgalmi es Malomipari Vallalat), the Hungarian Silk Industry Enterprise (Magyar Selyemipari Vallalat), the Peremarton Chemical Industry Enterprise (Peremartoni Vegyipari Vallalat), and the Szolnok Megye Livestock Trading and Meat Industry Enterprise (Szolnok Megyei Allatforgalmi es Husipari Vallalat).

There has not been any significant change already since 1980 in how the front-runners (the first ten enterprises) rank. The Danube Petroleum Industry Enterprise again heads the list in 1985. The Videoton Electronics Enterprise, which joined the front-runners in 1984, has advanced in 1985 from 10th to 9th place, while the Lenin Metallurgical Works now ranks 10th.

The list compiled on the basis of the 1984 output in value terms still showed the meat industry enterprises continuing their rapid advance begun in 1983. According to the 1985 list, however, not only have the meat industry enterprises lost their momentum, but they have also suffered significant losses of position. The Budapest Meat Industry Enterprise, for example, has fallen back from 46th to 63d place; the Szekszard Meat Industry Enterprise, from 49th to 61st place; the Szeged Salami Factory, from 40th to 53d place; and the Gyula Meat Combine, from 41st to 50th place.

A large proportion of the enterprises that advanced considerably in position belong to the electric power and fuel industry. In the 1985 list, for example, the Paks Nuclear Power Plant Enterprise advanced 27 places; the Veszprem Coal Mines Enterprise, 20 places; the Petroleum Prospecting Enterprise, 18 places; the South Alfold Gas Distribution Enterprise, 15 places; the Petroleum and Natural Gas Producing Enterprise, 12 places; and the Matra Foothills Coal Mines Enterprise, 11 places. But practically every club member belonging to the electric power and fuel industry advanced in position, even if only slightly.

Among the manufacturing enterprises, the Biogal Pharmaceutical Factory has advanced 16 places; the Hungarian Optical Works, 15 places; the Refrigeration Equipment Factory, 10 places; the North Hungary Chemical Works, 9 places; the Beloiannis Telecommunication Equipment Factory, 8 places; the Ganz-Danubius and Crane Factory, and the Machine Tool Industry Works have advanced 7 places each.

In addition to the already mentioned meat industry enterprises, in the 1985 list the Komarom Petroleum Industry Enterprise has fallen back 39 places; the Ganz Electrical Works, 20 places; the Precision Engineering Enterprise, 12 places; and the Compact Commercial Packaging Enterprise, 9 places.

Among the top enterprises ranked by output in value terms, the number of enterprises that are included among the top 100 also on the basis of other indicators has developed as follows:

Table 1

<u>Indicators</u>	<u>Number of enterprises</u>			
	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>
Number of employees	58	58	60	63
Value of fixed assets*	73	73	74	75
Export sales	56	61	59	59
<u>Domestic sales</u>	82	79	80	81

\*Stock at yearend, including fixed assets for cultural and welfare services.

In 1983 and also in 1984, among the top 100 there were 25 enterprises which qualified as club members on the basis of all five indicators. In 1985, there are already 29 such enterprises. But among them there is only one enterprise (Icarus) that ranks first on the basis of at least one indicator (export sales).

Among the top 100 production enterprises, the number of enterprises that belong among the largest also on the basis of the number of persons they employ has increased by three. Incidentally, in the 1985 list of enterprises ranked by number of employees there are five new names, but they are not identical with the new club members based on output value. Otherwise the 1985 list by number of employees is more stable than in 1984, with only minor shifts. It is noteworthy that of the new club members based on output value, the Measuring Instrument Factory Automation Works and the Orion Radio and Electrical Enterprise have fallen back, respectively, six and eight places in the 1985 list by the number of employees.

Among the top 100 enterprises ranked by gross fixed assets there are three new names. On the basis of output value, however, they have not been admitted to the Club of 100. Incidentally, there is no close correlation between shifts in position based, respectively, on gross fixed assets and on output value.

Among the top 100 industrial enterprises based on output value, the number of enterprises that belong among the top 100 also on the basis of their export sales has not increased in 1985 either. There are seven new enterprises in the 1985 list of the top 100 enterprises ranked by export sales, but among them there is only one (the Microelectronics Enterprise) that belongs to the Club of 100, membership in which is based on output value.

Begin in 1983, the process of rearrangements in the positions of the top 100 enterprises was the most intensive on the basis of their export sales and continued also in 1985. In comparison with how they ranked by export sales in 1984, about half the enterprises have shifted at least five places or more. But the number of shifts by ten places or more has declined in 1985. Among the members of the Club of 100, the Labor Instrument Industry Enterprise has advanced 36 places; the Tisza Shoe Factory, 17 places; and the Hungarian Optical Works, 10 places. But the Csepel Automobile Factory, the Hungarian Cable Works, the Zala Petroleum Industry Enterprise, and the Gyula Meat Combine have fallen back 12 places each. The Hajdu-Bihar Megye Livestock Trading and Meat Industry Enterprise has fallen back 11 places. The Danube Iron Works, and the Csepel Works Iron and Steel Mill have fallen back 10 places in the list by export sales.

Seven new enterprises have joined the top 100 by domestic sales in 1985. This includes three who are (were) also members of the Club of 100. The shifts in position by domestic sales have been somewhat quieter. Among the members of the Club of 100, the Refrigeration Equipment Factory has advanced 19 places by domestic sales; the Paks Nuclear Power Plant Enterprise, 18 places; the Kobanya Pharmaceutical Factory and the Microelectronics Enterprise have advanced 13 places each; and the Petroleum and Natural Gas Producing Enterprise has advanced 10 places.

There have been considerable losses of position for the Komarom Petroleum Industry Enterprise (35 places) and the Szeged Salami Factory and Meat Combine (20 places).

Table 2. Changes in 1985 in the Club of 100 Enterprises' Rank on the Basis of the Five Indicators

<u>Indicators</u>	<u>Shifts by 3 or more places</u>	<u>Limits of shifts (places)</u>
Output in value terms	54	+27 -39
Personnel	24	+10 -3
Value of fixed assets	23	+26 -17
Export sales	39	+34 -22
Domestic sales	44	+48 -35

The data in Table 2 appear to confirm the 1984 conclusion, drawn from similar data for the Club of 100, that shifts in the enterprises' rank based, respectively, on personnel and fixed assets tend to follow to a lesser extent the rearrangement that market forces cause in the ranking of the enterprises by sales.

Table 3. Breakdown of the Top 100 Industrial Enterprises by Value Categories (Number of Enterprises)

<u>Indicators</u>	<u>Enterprises</u>	<u>B i l l i o n f o r i n t s</u>				
		<u>10+</u>	<u>5-10</u>	<u>2-5</u>	<u>1-2</u>	<u>0.5-1</u>
Output in value terms	100	18	22	60	-	-
Gross fixed assets	75	13	22	36	4	-
Export sales	59	4	4	22	23	6
Domestic sales	81	11	24	46	-	-

Table 4. Categories of the Top 100 Industrial Enterprises by Size of Personnel (Number of Enterprises)

	<u>Enterprises</u>
Over 10,000 employees	13
5,000 to 10,000 employees	23
2,000 to 5,000 employees	27
Jointly	63

Most (11) of the 18 enterprises clustered in the lead of the Club of 100 may be ranked there primarily on the basis of domestic sales. The vast majority of the exporting enterprises belong in midfield on the basis of export sales. In addition to the (59) exporting members of the Club of 100, there are 41 exporting enterprises (cooperatives) among the top 100 by export sales. In other words, they are relatively smaller organizations.

In the category of enterprises with an output value exceeding 10 billion forints, there were 14 enterprises in 1983, and 15 in 1984. Three more enterprises advanced to this category in 1985. At the same time, the number of enterprises in the category of 5 to 10 billion forints of output value is four fewer than in 1984.

We examined the industrial trusts separately. The Brick and Tile Industry Trust has advanced one place on the basis of output value, due presumably to organizational changes. There have been several shifts in how the trusts rank on the basis of personnel, and only one shift on the basis of the stock of fixed assets. There has been no shift in 1985 on the basis of domestic sales, and there have been only minor shifts on the basis of export sales, due presumably to organizational changes.

Among the the top 100 business organizations by profit on net sales, there is not one member of the Club of 100. None of the 100 most profitable business organizations has reached an output value in 1985 that would qualify it for admission to the Club of 100.

Of the 100 most profitable business organizations, 68 are small cooperatives, 8 are cooperatives, and the rest are state enterprises, the subsidiaries of state enterprises, and joint or mixed enterprises. The profitability in relation to net sales ranges from 82 to 28 percent. At more than half of the business organizations, the profitability is within the 30- to 39-percent category.

1014

CSO: 2500/421

## BRIEFS

**NEW RAILWAY LINES**--Bucharest AGERPRES, 23 Jul--The new line linking the central Romanian localities Vilcele and Rimnicu Vilcea is in an advanced stage of construction and is to be ready for traffic next year. This is one of the most complex constructions in the area of the Romanian railroad construction and will shorten by nearly hundred and twenty-five kilometers the route between Bucharest and Rimnicu Vilcea. A series of units are to be built along this line, each being a premiere in the Romanian railroad construction. One is the country's largest viaducts--Topolog, 1,350 meter long (rpt 1,350). Another is one of the longest tunnels in the country--at Gibe, extending along 2,240 meters (rpt. 2,240). The number of tunnels, viaducts, bridges and others is to exceed forty. It is also in the Vilcea County that another important railway is in an advanced stage of construction: the more than sixty-kilometer-long line Babeni-Berbesti-Alunu. It is to be turned operative by the end of the year, so far operations being over on the first two sections totaling nearly forty kilometers. The new line helps reduce considerably the distance traversed by the steam coal from the mining units of the Horesu field to the power generating units in the county. At present it is transported by road, which is far more expensive. The new minelines commissioned in the first half of the year sum up nearly fifty kilometers. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1006 GMT 23 Jul 86 AU] /9738

**POARTA ALBA-MIDIA NAVODARI CANAL**--Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22 Jul--The builders of the Poarta Alba-Midia Navodari Canal--a 31-km (rpt 31-km) waterway that branches off from the Danube-Black Sea Canal and flows into the sea at the port of Midia--have put the final touches to a series of projects included in the blueprint. A first bridge across the canal was emplaced near the commune of Ovidiu; it is a road bridge on the Bucharest-Constanta national road. The metal truss of the bridge is 111 (rpt 111) meters long and weighs 1,200 (rpt 1,200) tons. Construction work is also well under way at another bridge, at the lock of Navodari, where the main truss was emplaced and the works are in progress to put the last touches to the sidewalks. Good progress has also been made at other building works, especially at the two locks of Ovidiu and Navodari. So far, more than fifty four million tons of earth and rock were excavated, while excavation works and terracings were finalized on a 14-km (rpt 14-km) section of the new Romanian waterway, which has been filled with water. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0931 GMT 22 Jul 86 AU] /9738



**AGRICULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS**--Bucharest AGERPRES 17 May--In the last three years, the grains production per capita topped 1,000 kg, as to 662 kg in 1965, and the growth of total production in the 1965-1985 period was 11 million tons. The potato, sugar-beet, meat, milk and egg productions have soared up too. The policy aimed at increasing the farm output provides for growing investments in complementary branches for technico-economic modernization and introduction of modern technologies. The investments in agriculture in the 1981-1985 interval were by 4.1 times bigger than in the 1965 period, and investments for the 1986-1990 five-year period are to top 190 billion lei, by 23 percent more than in previous five-year period. By doubling the tractor and farm machinery stock in the last twenty years--the arable land per tractor fell from 121 ha to 59 ha. The vast operations of systematization of the country's land fund will be concluded to irrigate 55-60 percent of the arable land--Romania being among the first five countries in the world in this domain--erosion-control works and operation for the elimination of the humidity in excess will be performed on the entire affected area. [Summary] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0912 GMT 17 May 86 AU] /9738

**NEW STRAINS OF WHEAT**--Bucharest AGERPRES 14 Jun--A few years ago, a new strain of cereals was first planted in Olt county, southern Romania: "Triticale-fundulea 2", a cross between wheat and rye. The drought- pest-and disease-resistant new strain was developed by researchers at the Fundulea Institute. Although it was sown on fields with a low fertility index, this year it has yielded crops of more than 7,500 kg per hectare, on an average. Most of the 1,500-ha experimental plots belong to the Agro-Industrial Complex of Scornicesti. The new strain boasts high qualities as a breadgrain in comparison with other, valuable wheat strains (24 percent gluten, 14-16 percent proteins, and a 20-percent gluten index). The respective crop, specialists point out, will be used this autumn to sow the new strain on more than 10,000 hectares of land in farm units in Olt County, as well as on another 10,000 hectares in other counties (Dimbovita, Arges, and elsewhere). Thereby, next year the new wheat strain will be cultivated on more than 20,000 hectares of Romania's agricultural land. Experiments are under way on another strain--"Vladeasa"--also developed at Fundulea, which has been planted on sandy soils in southern Oltenia. In a couple of years this strain, too, will be cultivated on sandy land. [Excerpt] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1631 GMT 14 Jul 86 AU] /9738

**INTENSIVE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT**--Bucharest AGERPRES 8 Jul--In the 1986-1990 period, the overall farm output will average an annual rate of 6.16.7 percent, [as transmitted] in conditions of growing efficiency and the net farm production an annual rate of 8.5-9 percent. In the plant production, priority is given to cereals to obtain a total production of 32.47 million tons in 1990--of which 18.2 million maize and sorghum, and 10.2 million tons wheat and rye. In normal weather conditions, 11.6 million tons of sugar beets, 2.4 million of sunflower and soya beans, 19.5 million tons of potatoes and vegetables, 3.2 million tons of fruit and 2.4 million tons of grapes are to be gathered. The growth of the plant production is to be obtained by higher average productions per ha. The farm and arable land is to be extended by 700,000 hectares--to have 10.7 million ha or arable land under crops--of

which 2.6 million ha of irrigated land. In order to obtain the set productions, the farm machinery and tractor fleet will be updated and 14.5 million tons of fertilizers and 320 million tons of manure will be used in agriculture. Animal-breeding is also a major objective of the 1986-1990 five-year period to account for 46-48 percent of agricultural output in 1990 as to 42.7 percent in 1985. By 1990 the livestock will stand at: 11 million beef, 15.6 million pigs, about 30 million sheep and goats and 80 million laying poultry. The farm output will provide raw materials resources for the development of the food industry at an average yearly rate of 10.1 percent. [Excerpt] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1010 GMT 8 Jul 86 AU] /9738

TISA RIVER PROTECTION CONVENTION--The convention on protecting the water of Tisa River and its affluents from pollution has been signed in the town of Seged in the Hungarian People's Republic. The meeting was attended by representatives of Romania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and the USSR. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 May 86 AU] /9738

NEW TYPES OF RAILWAY CARS--Bucharest AGERPRES 16 Jul--The Romanian Freight and Passenger Railway Cars Manufacturing Enterprises of Arad, Drobeta-Turnu Severin and Caracal have assimilated new types of cars boasting higher parameters for home and foreign beneficiaries. They are multipurpose cars with greater axle load for coal transportation, qpt T [as received] tipper cars, tank wagons, and passenger cars. With an annual production of 12,000-15,000 freight and passenger cars and a fabrication list including hundreds of building variants and types of cars, the Romanian rolling stock industry has substantially contributed to the development and modernization of the country's railway transport. Over the 1981-1985 five-year period alone the Romanian railways were equipped among other things with almost 13,400 cars of various types, 180 electric and diesel-electric locomotives. Revised and manufactured according to international regulations in force the Romanian-made cars in great demand abroad operating in over 30 countries on all continents. In the 1973-1985 interval alone Romania exported through the agency of its foreign trade organization "Mecanoexportimport" more than 110,000 freight and 3,500 passenger cars. [Excerpts] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 16 Jul 86 AU] /9738

LOCOMOTIVE EXPORTS TO PRC--Bucharest AGERPRES 17 Jul--The well-known Romanian enterprise "Electroputere" has delivered the last batch of the 25 21,00 hp diesel electric locomotives it contracted with the People's Republic of China for 1986. The manufacture started of the same type of locomotives contracted with the Chinese beneficiaries for 1987 so that the first batch of tens should be delivered by the end of this year. Eleven 5,100 hp electrical locomotives have already been delivered to Bulgaria while the first locomotives to be sent to Iran under a contract signed for this year with firms from that country are in a final building stage. The Romanian Rolling Stock Industry manufactures a wide range of freight and passenger railway cars (some 200 types), axles and bogies as well as of diesel hydraulic, diesel electric and electric locomotives (more than 30 types) with powers ranging from 180 to 5,100 hp. Built according to the latest international

regulations, the Romanian railway transport means are in great demand abroad. In the 1973-1985 interval alone Romania exported well over 1,500 locomotives to more than 30 countries on all continents. Romania exports almost half of its current production. [Excerpts] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0928 GMT 17 Jul 86 AU] /9738

SOCIOECONOMIC CHANGES IN COUNTIES--Bucharest AGERPRES 9 Jul--By 1990, the volume of economic activities in each Romanian county will be of at least 80 thousand lei percapitum, of which 50 thousand lei worth of industrial production. [sentence as received] This minimum ceiling will be attained by building new production capacities in industry and agriculture, by developing and updating the existing ones, by raising labor productivity, the efficiency of the entire economic activity in general. Related to the level of the entire Romanian economy, this volume of activities will allow a 60.4-65.4 percent growth of the national income and a 36.4-40.6 percent rise in the social product by the end of the 1986-1990 five-year period as compared to the previous five-year interval. The economic development of counties will go hand in hand with vast urban planning. In keeping with the national plan of territorial, urban and rural planning, a modern network of localities will be created with rationally planned built-up areas to boost the socio-economic and cultural life. Some 750,000 new houses are to be built in this quinquennium, 100,000 of which in communes and villages. [Excerpts] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0817 GMT 9 Jul 86 AU] /973

DEVELOPMENT OF CALARASI METALLURGY--Bucharest AGERPRES 23 Jun--The Calarasi iron-and-steel combine is the youngest and one of the most representative centers of Romanian metallurgy. The combine unit No. 1 will soon produce the first coke charge. There too, important amounts of coke gas will be produced, which will generate 80,000 mWh electric power a year, as well as heat for 10,000 apartments in Calarasi Municipality. This works will also supply the national economy with important amounts of ammonia liquor, benzene, tars, oils and other by-products. In the past five-year period (1981-1985) the following units of the combine started production: the electric steel foundry with an annual capacity of 360,000 tons a year; the combine maintenance sector with an annual production of 2,000 tons of parts. This year the heavy section and rail rolling mill will start production (870,000 tons a year) and the maintenance sector will be extended. The combine in Calarasi is planned to turn out the biggest steel production per built-up area unit. More than 90 percent of its equipment, installations and facilities are of Romanian make. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0946 GMT 23 Jun 86 AU] /9738

PROSPECTS IN METAL INDUSTRY--Bucharest AGERPRES 8 Jul--A new unit for the manufacture of welded pipes was put on line 90 days ahead of schedule in Iasi, at one of the most recently created enterprises of the Romanian metal industry. It boosted the economic potential of the country's metallurgy. Essential qualitative changes will occur in the structure of metal production in the Romanian metal industry in the period to follow. Thus, the absolute levels of metal production envisaged for 1990 exceed 1985 achievements by more than 90 percent in the case of metallurgical coke, 47 percent in the case of pig iron, 43 percent in the case of steel, 52 percent in the case of rods and



roughly 59 percent in the case of pipes. More marked growths are expected in the case of highly processed types. The production will develop of special types of major importance for the implementation of priority programs in the economy. Furthermore, production will be renewed more than 30 percent beyond the present level, as the raw materials capitalization index will go up over 30 percent. Marketable production in the branch as a whole will increase 70 percent in 1990 as against 1985. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0840 GMT 8 Jul 86 AU] /9738

**NEW STEEL CAPACITIES**--Bucharest AGERPRES 8 Jul--The first amounts of coke have been turned out by the battery No. 1 of the coke-chemical works at the Calarasi iron-and-steel combine. The new battery has been designed and built by Romanian specialists and is the country's third largest. Its equipment and devices are Romanian-made. The Calarasi combine, Romania's latest iron-and-steel unit, has been planned to turn out the largest amount of steel per unit of built area. Over the current five-year plan period the metallurgical industry is to undergo essential changes in point of quality. The absolute levels of production planned for the year 1990 are higher than those of the year 1985 by over 90 percent in point of foundry coke, 47 percent in point of pig iron, 43 percent in point of steel, 52 percent in point of laminars and nearly 59 percent in point of tubes. More marked rises are planned with the highly-processed products. Output will be renewed 30 percent as to the present and raw materials will be capitalized better by 30 percent. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1120 GMT 8 Jul 86 AU] /9738

**MAJOR INDUSTRIAL BRANCHES' DEVELOPMENT**--Bucharest AGERPRES 8 Jul--The Machine-Building Industry in Romania develops at an annual average rate of 10.3 percent in the 1986-1990, which is more than the average growth of the whole national industry. The industries of electronics and microelectronics, automation means, fine mechanics, hydraulics installations and pneumatic equipment, as well as high-tech, highly efficient machine-tools greatly develop. Concomitantly, the production of power-engineering, oil and technological equipment is updated, pursuing a greater reliability and the extended use of electronic and hydropneumatic equipment, automation means and measurement and control apparatus that will help increasing the quality of production. Actually, machine-building will supply 75 percent of the required equipment and installations for the investment program of the current five-year plan and will double the exports. As compared with 1985 the rises planned for 1990 with the main categories of products of this branch are: 116 percent with equipment and machinery for industry, 440 percent with the sea merchant fleet, 270 percent with cars, 210 percent with electronic equipment and computation techniques, [number indistinct] percent with fine mechanics, optics and hydropneumatic elements. [Excerpts] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1000 GMT 8 Jul 86 AU] /9738

**QUALITATIVE PRODUCTION IMPROVEMENT ENVISAGED**--Bucharest AGERPRES 9 Jul--According to the 1986-1990 five-year plan provisions, the share of Romanian products complying with worldwide standards will successively grow to 84.6 percent in 1987, and to nearly 95 percent by 1990, while two to five percent of pro will outdistance that standard. By 1990 new and modernized products

will account for 46 percent of the marketable production turned out by the manufacturing industries, and the share of high-quality steels (superalloys, nickel, titanium, zirconium, wolfram and other special alloys) for the air-space industry, nuclear power engineering and electronics will exceed 70 percent. High-performance equipment and machinery will be turned out, incorporating more fine-mechanics and electronic components, as well as automated control systems for technological processes in metallurgy, casting, mechanical and thermal processing.

The results of scientific research will be put to production at a fast pace, as 8,296 main research and development themes will be initiated, out of which 6,411 become operational by 1990. Over the interval 2,932 new and updated technologies will be introduced. [Excerpts] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1120 GMT 9 Jul 86 AU] /9738

**NEW HYDROELECTRIC POWER PLANT**--Bucharest AGERPRES 17 May--After having commissioned the Galbeni (31 mw) and Racaciuni (2x23 mw) hydroelectric power plants, the "Siret" hydro-electric power plant building enterprise started the construction of a new plant, namely the Calimanesti Hydroelectric Power Plant, near Marasesti town, with a power generating capacity of 50 mw. The building of the hydroelectric power complex on the Siret entails multiple advantages. Apart from the important amount of energy fed in the national power grid, the river harnessing helps reclaiming for agriculture about 12,000 hectares and creates an additional discharge of 200 million m<sup>3</sup> of water to be used in irrigation. Other 24 million m<sup>3</sup> of water will be supplied to out-lying localities and economic units. Numerous rivers in Romania were linked to large power systems. It is the case of Bistrita, Arges, Olt and other smaller rivers. In the last 20 years alone 100 hydroelectric power plants were built in Romania with autochthonous designs and equipment. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0920 GMT 17 May 86 AU] /9738

**INVESTMENT PROGRAM REVIEWED**--Bucharest AGERPRES 11 Jul--A vast investment program worth 1,400 billion lei is to be put at work in the 1986-1990 quinquennium, mostly to faster modernize and intensively develop industry, agriculture and other economic branches. Over 840 billion lei are allotted to industry, to energetics and the extractive industry in particular. Some 3,300 mw generating sets will be commissioned in thermopower stations, the water potential is to be further turned to account and nuclear-electric stations with a total generating power of 5,200 mw are to be built. In the extractive industry 117.3 million tons of net coal are to be extracted and the production of coking coal is to double. Agriculture is earmarked 210 billion lei, transport and telecommunications 129 billion lei; 127 billion lei are for housing construction and community service and 20 billion lei for goods turnover. All in all, 900 important production units are to go on line during the five-year period. In the last twenty years over 250 industrial areas were created, properly distributed in the territory. Each county of Romania boasts today fixed assets worth more than 20 billion lei. By the end of the eighth quinquennium, fixed assets in the national economy will be worth 3,800 billion lei with about 3,100 billion lei worth of productive assets. [Excerpts] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0818 GMT 17 Jul 86 AU] /9738

SHIPBUILDING OPERATIONS REVIEWED--Bucharest, AGERPRES 5 May--In the past few weeks, Romanian shipyards built vessels of various types and capacities. Early in April the country's merchant fleet was equipped with a 65,000-dwt ore carrier, built in Constanta, and a multipurpose cargo boat of 13,500 dwt, built in Galati. Another two cargo vessels, of 7,500 and 5,000 dwt respectively, built by the shipyards in Tulcea and Braila, are undergoing tests at sea. At the end of the respective tests they are to equip the Romanian merchant fleet. Another shipyard on the Danube, namely that at Drobeta-Turnu Severin, exported a 7,000-dwt oil tanker and a 600-m<sup>3</sup> barge. The same shipyard launched its sixth oil tanker of the same capacity, which will also be exported. Building operations have entered a final stage on a 15,000-dwt cargo vessel at Tulcea, a 85,000-dwt ship and a 150,000-dwt oil tanker at Constanta, and a new type oil tanker of 35,000 dwt at Mangalia. This year the Romanian shipyards will build vessels totaling more than one million dwt. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0947 GMT 5 May 86 AU] /9738

DANUBE-BLACK SEA PORT--Bucharest AGERPRES 8 Jul--Construction works were completed on the river and seaport of Basarabi, located at km 40 on the Danube-Black Sea Canal. The new port has a river terminal, passenger terminals and terminals specialized in the loading and unloading of general cargo and farm-food produce, warehouses, platforms equipped with modern port facilities. It will operate as a commercial port and as a small-tonnage vessels (tows and push-tows) repair unit. The anchorage covers over 14 hectares and the lowest depth of water is of 6.5 meters. [Excerpt] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 8 Jul 86 AU] /9738

PORT CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT--Bucharest AGERPRES 8 Jul--The Romanian hydro-technicians perform complex works in the Black Sea ports in view of completing capacities meant for the sea goods traffic. In the new port Constanta-Sud (the largest Romanian sea port which will be in a final stage some 3.5 times bigger than the present Port of Constanta) the first 1,100 m long ways were built, meant for big-tonnage vessels. At the same time, the port platform started being built, on which the mechanical equipment will be assembled for the operative transiting of the commodities to be carried by the Danube-Black Sea Canal. As a matter of fact way over 10 km long will be built in the zone, as well as dams (5 km long) for the protection of the port. Important manpower and technical forces are concentrated also in Mangalia, where the dredging is about to be completed of the navigable channel and of the new, recently inaugurated dry dock meant for the overhauling of the big-tonnage ships. Likewise, in the Port of Midia--the terminal of the Poarta Alba-Midia-Navodari canal (now in an advanced stage of construction)--works will be completed this summer on the ship docking capacities and the the slide of the floating docks of 10,000 and 20,000 tons/force [as received] that are emplaced in that port. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0842 GMT 8 Jul 86 AU] /9738

CSO: 2020/186

## DECLINING CAPITAL INVESTMENT DISCUSSED

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 86 p 5

[Excerpt] The degree of completion is deteriorating in the opposite direction, and investment is being confined more and more within republic boundaries. Small projects are being built on a broad front. More equipment is being imported.

According to surveys conducted with questionnaires by the Market Research Institute, the several years of declining investments in the fixed assets of the economy have brought about a situation where it is unable to accomplish the necessary changes for the sake of development, structural changes, and changes for the sake of stabilization. The problematical situation in the investment sector is illustrated by numerous indicators of the extremely low efficiency of investments, the overlong project construction time (as a rule projects take as much as 4 years to build), the immense cost overruns and deterioration of the pattern of expenditure on investment projects. Following 5 years of a continuous decline of investments in capital assets, beginning in the second half of 1983 and up through May of this year there has been a trend toward moderate invigoration of investment demand and investment activity (because of the appreciable drop at the beginning of the year, the real volume of investment expenditure was again in 1985 4 percent below that of 1984). However, the real level of current investment projects in 1985 was about 30 percent below the level in 1981. Not only has the volume of investment been smaller, but over the last 3 years most investment activity has been oriented toward building projects begun in the past (for example, 56 large projects begun before 1976 are still under construction), and their economic benefits are uncertain (it is already evident that some of them are mistakes as far as development goes). One of the pieces of evidence of the inefficiency of investment projects is the continuous drop in the level of capacity utilization and the longer and longer payoff period.

## A Certain Invigoration

The increased number of projects under construction also shows a certain invigoration of investment. At the beginning of April 1986 there were 26,431 projects under construction in Yugoslavia. Beginning in 1983 the construction front had again been broadened, and the level of completion of construction was deteriorating, and investment was being confined more and more within



republic borders. (Interrepublic investments have a share of only 0.35 percent in total investments; that is, projects are mainly being built in the republics where the investor's main headquarters are located.) At the beginning of April 1986 the level of completion of investment projects, measured by the ratio of work done and total estimated cost, was 52.9 percent. As for this being a broad front of construction of very small projects, the figures show that 19,012 projects are under construction whose individual cost does not exceed 50 million dinars (but which have a share of only 5.1 percent in total estimated cost).

#### Reliance on Own Resources

In view of the several years of declining investments and numerous problems that have built up in this sector, the present invigoration of investment activity does not afford those stimulative effects it had when the investment cycle took place normally.

The increase of investment demand on the basis of good market conditions in the second half of 1985 and the first half of 1986 tended to halt the drop in the output of the construction sector and brought about a moderate growth of production of domestic equipment (after several years of an appreciable decline). Between the beginning of January and 23 June 1986 imports of equipment increased 10.2 percent by comparison with the same period of the previous year. According to the available data of the Social Accounting Service, payments on investment projects in the first 4 months of 1986 were 104 percent greater than for the same period of last year. The financing of investments is relying more and more on "own" resources, and less on credit. Credit had a share of 39.1 percent in the total estimated cost of investment projects at the beginning of April (as against 49.5 percent at the end of 1982). The restrictive credit policy concerning the financing of investments and the high interest rates had something to do with that.

#### Largest Projects Under Construction, as of 31 March 1986

<u>Name of Project</u>	<u>Estimated Cost in Billions</u>
1. "Kolubara B" Heat and Power Plant, Kalenic	152.7
2. "Kosovo B" in the electric power industry, Obilic	119.8
3. "Bitola" Mining and Power Combine, Phase II--Bitolj	119.7
4. Smederevo Metallurgical Combine, Phase II of the cold rolling mill, Smederevo	89.4
5. "Tannavski kopovi" Western Coalfields, Phase I, Lajkovac	71.6
6. "Drnno" Thermal Electric Power Plant, Drnno	59.7
7. "Dubrava" Hydroelectric Power Plant, Cakovec	57.1

Source: "Report on Current Investment Projects and Their Financial Backing," Social Accounting Service, June 1986.

Capital Investment Projects Under Construction, as of 31 March 1986

SR's and SAP's		Estimated Cost	
		In Billions of Dinars	Breakdown, %
Bosnia-Herzegovina	2,600	759	15.8
Montenegro	877	123	2.6
Croatia	3,974	774	16.1
Macedonia	1,526	345	7.1
Slovenia	3,756	345	10.3
Serbia	13,698	2,314	48.1
Serbia proper	9,397	1,503	31.2
Kosovo	1,170	470	9.8
Vojvodina	3,131	341	7.1
SFRY	26,431	4,810	100.0

Source: "Report on Current Investment Projects and Their Financial Backing," Social Accounting Service, June 1986, p 9.

Pattern of Current Investment Projects With Respect to the Nature of Construction, as of 31 March 1986

Nature of Construction	Number of Projects	Estimated Cost	
		In Billions of Dinars	Breakdown, %
Construction of new projects	19,526	3,975	82.6
Reconstruction and modernization projects	5,883	648	13.5
Preliminary and preparatory operations	1,022	187	3.9
Total	26,431	4,810	100.0

Source: "Report on Current Investment Projects and Their Financial Backing," Social Accounting Service, June 1986.

7045

CSO: 2800/337

## STATUS OF FERROUS METALLURGY; EFFECTS OF SMEDEREVO FIRE

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 26-28 Jul 86 p 3

[Interview with Nikola Grcevski, secretary of the General Association of Yugoslav Ferrous Metallurgy, by Dusan Ivanovic: "Strictly Controlled Shipments"; date and place not given]

[Text] There were fears at the beginning of the year that ferrous metallurgy would be conducting its economic activity under rather altered conditions. People were afraid that uncontrolled imports on the basis of legislative decisions would disrupt relations between the output and consumption of steel, but this did not happen. On the other side exports were also within the planned limits. The sound result in production of finished products (as well as in other phases of production) was a pleasant surprise: better than 13.3 percent above the same period of last year. Losses, however, could not be avoided because of the pressure of costs under the heading of inputs and because of the consistent controls on the prices of finished products.

We talked about all these problems with Nikola Grcevski, secretary of the General Association of Yugoslav Ferrous Metallurgy.

[Question] How has ferrous metallurgy gotten its bearing in the context of the firmer linkage to consumers of its products and liberalization of imports of steel?

[Answer] In March a self-management accord that also included nonferrous metals and will cover the period up to 1990 was signed with the metal manufacturing industry, the construction industry, the petroleum industry, and the Yugoslav railroads. Every year an annex is adopted to specify in detail the needs of the domestic market, exports of finished products, the volume of barter deals and transactions for finishing and processing and imports of the necessary components from iron ore to scrap, additions to the charge and refractories and semifinished products. This gives ferrous metallurgy a certain security in the conduct of its business. Although steel imports were liberalized at the end of last year, there were no disturbances on the market, since the amounts involved were strictly controlled both with respect to imports and exports.

Under what are in effect new conditions for the conduct of economic activity Yugoslavia's ferrous metallurgy has, however, demonstrated all its vitality. The result for the first half of the year on production of finished steel products confirms this assertion. For example, planned deliveries were made in the amount of more than 2.7 million tons of finished products, which at the same time is 13.3 percent more than in the same period of last year. In June there was even a certain slowing down of the pace of production.

The increase in the output of finished steel products, which is not to be underestimated, since in the first 6 months of last year output fell some 10 index points short of the plan, made it possible, first of all, to achieve considerably better supply of domestic consumers. Thanks to the more regular and complete supply, imports of many products for domestic metal manufacturing and other large consumers were reduced. Another new thing is that the composition of output has been altered and brought into line with the needs of the domestic market, while the quality of most products has also been improved.

[Question] In spite of certain achievements on the side of production, ferrous metallurgy has been recording quite sizable losses. How do you explain that?

[Answer] Last year, unfortunately, this industry had about 5 billion dinars of losses. We do not know this figure for the first 6 months of this year, but it is certain that there will be losses--the only question is how large. There are several reasons why this is the case. First of all, the costs of inputs are high. They are directly affected by the expensive electric power, transportation, high dependence upon imports, and so on. Then there is also inflation, which by driving down the value of the dinar and disrupting relations with other countries has been causing an adverse financial result. On the other side the prices of finished steel products have been subject to controls, and adjustment has been possible only on the basis of special proceedings. Under present conditions 120 days have to pass from the announcement of a change to its application. All of this is, of course, a burden on ferrous metallurgy.

#### The Foreign Exchange Crossroads

One particular problem is the high dependence on imports, since this year the industry will need on the basis of socially recognized needs in reproduction \$470 million for imports of components from the West European market and \$325 million from the East European market, not counting coking coal. Ferrous metallurgy must, of course, export, and it will continue to do so in coming years. Incidentally, everywhere in the world surpluses of steel products are exported, barter deals and transactions for processing and finishing are concluded, and Yugoslavia is no exception in that. We will, of course, continue to import those things which it is unfeasible to produce in our steel mills.

[Question] How "heavy" are Yugoslav exports, and are export goals being met?

[Answer] Exports this year were planned at the level of 1.5 million tons of steel products, but this includes a high share of finishing and processing



transactions on the basis of arrangements with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Italy, and Austria. By and large we export surpluses of particular types and sizes, that is, quantities which domestic consumers have no interest in. It should be said that less and less that is not needed by the domestic market is being produced in domestic steel mills. Consideration is simply being given to optimum conduct of business. The structure of output is such that about 800,000 tons of steel products are exported to the convertible market. Transactions with the East European countries account for the remainder.

In the first 6 months about 230,000 tons were sold, and net exports amounted to about \$70 million. The plan for the first 6 months was achieved, since the additional 700,000 tons envisaged referred to barter deals and finishing and processing transactions. In general these transactions give us not only a direct, but also an indirect benefit, since they help to achieve a high level of utilization of installed metallurgical capacity.

[Question] How much has the fire at the Smederevo Metallurgical Combine slowed down fulfillment of this year's planning targets?

[Answer] What happened at Smederevo was a disaster for ferrous metallurgy, but also for the country as a whole. To be sure, the accident shut down the cold rolling mill, but the smelter, steel mill, and hot rolling mill have been operating.

#### Examples of Solidarity

As is well known, all steel mills in the country have rushed in to help. Some have assumed obligations to consumers for production of assortments in the Smederevo Steel Mill and the steel mills in Skoplje and Jesenice and the rolling mill in Banjaluka. Joint efforts prevented the domestic market from feeling any consequences whatsoever from this accident. Some things are also being produced with the help of steel mills in neighboring countries, and these are truly fine examples of human solidarity, not just mere business sense.

The repair work at that steel mill is going according to plan, and next year it will return to regular production. With help from our other members in processing, Smederevo produced 310,000 tons of products in the first 6 months, while the figure for the same period of last year was 270,000 tons. That figure in and of itself says much about the common effort.

The domestic steel mills could in fact show better economic performance if the conditions were right. In the first half of the year they produced 320,000 tons of finished steel products more than in the same period of last year, and the largest contribution to that result was made by Zenica, Skoplje, and Smederevo....

Business operation was considerably more successful than last year in the other phases of production as well.

Yet inventories are being built up, since consumption is falling off because of the lull in capital investment activity. Conditions in the supply of raw materials and production supplies to the steel mills are relatively good, but problems are being created by the foreign exchange market, which for all practical purposes is not functioning. As a consequence, in order to satisfy needs for foreign exchange, the steel mills must export more regardless of how well this pays, and this could threaten the sound supply of the domestic market.

7045

CSO: 2800/336

## COMMENTS ON CHANGE IN PARTY STATUTE BY 13TH BCP CONGRESS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Nikola Dimitrov, senior instructor at Interokrug Party School in Burgas: "Change in BCP Statute; Heart of Party Leadership";

[Text] The new Article 23 is an important amendment made by the 13th Party Congress: "Party officials and organizations shall accomplish their role of leadership and guidance within the framework of the country's Constitution and laws, relying on state and public organizations.

"They shall effect political leadership for the proper functioning of organs of state authority and control for the development of public organizations and various forms of workers' self-government, respecting their organizational independence and without taking away their functions and tasks."

This new text in the fundamental party document reminds us once more of the necessity for learning, mastering and applying in practice the Leninist principles of party leadership of society. Everybody knows that the main functions of party officials and organizations are political, organizational and educational. In practice, however, many party committees and many party workers and leaders perform mainly economic and administrative functions and tasks while the organizational function is blended with the administrative and managerial. As a result, the role of people's councils, of economic managements and workforces is debased. The committees and individual figures in them emerge in the role of almost miracle workers who can cope with all economic and administrative questions.

The chief objective of party work is people.

However, there are many party committees and workers who are not sufficiently acquainted with their key personnel, for they have no "live" contact with them except by telephone and by written instructions, at best in conferences and meetings. Control over their activity is weak too, nor is a fundamental political evaluation of them made in time, in consequence of which there have been a number of ill successes. All this affects the inculcation of the people; not so much physical as moral injury is suffered.

Excessive use of the telephone to communicate with enterprises or the relevant offices in the councils restricts their initiative and that of the workforces.

We have witnessed how instructions are given on concrete practical questions in the name of the committee; the "opinion of the committee" is imparted as a specific measure to be carried out exactly. To be sure, once the committee has ruled, the matter will be done, but this is precisely at variance with the principle of the demarcation of functions--people learn to wait for instructions about everything.

Maybe this is a farfetched generalization, but it seems to me that many local party officials have lost the image of political leaders and have taken on administrative characteristics.

I know quite a few party committee workers who have not managed to learn, and some who have forgotten, what the main point of party work is. Otherwise good specialists and candidates of technical and economic sciences lack sufficient training and organizational experience, are not used to working with people and do not know how. They simply carry over the administrative and managerial--or so-called "dispatcher"--work methods from the administrative and economic managements whence they were drawn into the party committees.

This approach is much easier than persuading people, than advising, teaching and inculcating them. Some comrades are much flattered when their work is assessed solely in terms of economic results. At an obshtina party conference I heard delegates declare, "The contribution of the party secretary to the securing of a new flowline in our enterprise is great"; "Thanks to the personal participation of the party secretary our enterprise fulfilled its yearly plan." But the personal participation of the secretary consisted in correcting the plant's plan.

Many party workers realize that this situation is not normal. An acquaintance who was formerly my classmate at the AONSU [Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management] once envied me. "How lucky you are to be doing real party work--instructing party secretaries, while I," he said, "am a general director of sorts. I'm kept busy with construction materials, equipment, investors and designers. I adjust and coordinate plans and schedules. What am I not kept busy with? I have no time left for party work." And at that time he was okrug committee secretary for construction. Both the secretary for industry and the secretary for agriculture and the sections and sectors concerned kept exclusively economic matters "moving" with purely economic managerial methods and means.

All this affects the primary party organizations and the work of their bureaus. Some party secretaries express dissatisfaction with these methods, while others consider the situation perfectly normal--even the fact that when secretaries and representatives of the committees visit the enterprises, they drop in first of all on the directors and their deputies and very rarely on party secretaries, and the fact that it does not always occur to anyone to invite them to the conversations in the director's office. And these conversations ordinarily are about plan fulfillment and current production problems, very rarely about the human problems of workers and employees, of party secretaries themselves, how they live and what bothers them. They are rarely present except at the annual report-and-elections meetings and at other meetings of the primary party organizations and workforces. This work style has also been adopted by the party

bureaus and secretaries. They also sometimes assume atypical--for them--functions, methods and approaches, obligations and responsibilities of economic managements. Often party meetings take on the character of production conferences, while bureau sessions take on the character of operational conferences.

It is high time that the work of party officials should be conducted in conformity with the Statute, that committees should be relieved of economic and administrative activity and that administrative and economic officials should shoulder entirely the functions and tasks that are in their jurisdiction. This will put an end to the practice of shifting the burden and responsibility to the party committees, and this will reinforce party control.

The study, mastery and application of the new points contained in the amendments the 13th Party Congress made to the Statute will contribute to continuously enhancing the role and responsibility of party officials and organizations as political leaders and to continuously intensifying the political approach--the heart of their work.

6474

CSO: 2200/158

## ADN CITES HONECKER LETTER TO U.S. SCHOOL CHILDREN

LD031913 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1702 GMT 3 Aug 86

[Quotation Marks as received]

[Text] Berlin, 3 August (ADN)--Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general Secretary and GDR Council of State Chairman, has sent the following reply to the organization. "Children for Peace," from the Moorestown Friends School in the U.S. federal state of New Jersey, who had given him a chain of folded paper cranes as thanks for his indefatigable struggle for peace:

"I received your wonderfully beautiful chain of cranes with great joy. I congratulate you on having been able to implement your idea so quickly and with such dexterity.

I have happily fulfilled your wish and have sent the cranes, which recall the fate of the Japanese girl, Sadako Sasaki, and exhort us all to peace in such a moving way, to a place of my choice. They are now in a children's holiday camp by the Werbellinsee near Berlin: [presented to the camp when the international pioneers' summer camp opened there on 13 July 1986]. Every summer girls and boys from many countries on earth meet there for a holiday at the invitation of our children's organization, "Ernst Thaelmann." This year 1,200 children from 52 countries are the guests.

At the opening of the summer camp the children were joined together by the garland of your peace cranes, as a symbol of the longing of all children for peace and as an expression of their common striving for a world without war, for a life in friendship. There, all camp participants and--via our country's television, radio, and newspapers--all the people of the GDR were informed of your action. I include some photographs and newspapers for you which will give you a small impression of how your cranes have found their way into the hearts of our country's children and adults.

Your wishes and hopes are the same as those which the children of the GDR and all of us have. There is nothing more important for us than to do everything to safeguard peace and to preserve the peoples from a nuclear inferno. In our time, this is the first duty of every politician conscious of his responsibility.



There can be no children's happiness without peace. To maintain it for all time remains the supreme commandment of our activity. Your peace crane action also strengthens us in this.

I wish you all the best and success to us together in the struggle for a peaceful future."

/12913

CSO: 2300/508

## SHOPLIFTING REPORTED COMMON ON WEST BERLIN VISITS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by "Ws." datelined Berlin 18 Jul 86: "Shoplifting by GDR Visitors Happens Every Day in Berlin--the Cases Are Usually Dismissed"]

[Text] The still mysterious story of East Berlin economic scientist Meissner started with an instance of shoplifting in a West Berlin department store. One can well imagine the situation: the deputy secretary general of the GDR Academy of Sciences, on an official visit to West Berlin, gave in to temptation when he saw in a department store one particular replacement part for a shower system without which the shower will not work, but which apparently is not to be found in the GDR. Professors and members of the GDR Academy indicate that while on official trips they do not receive a sufficient amount of per diem in West German marks to enable them even to spend as small an amount as would have been required in this case (anywhere from DM9.80 to 29.80). If they are to spend a single day in West Berlin, they are allowed all of DM8. Seeing the long-desired object without having enough money in one's pocket can trigger a panic action.

Shoplifting by visitors from the GDR or East Berlin--be they prominent individuals like Prof Meissner or the wife of GDR television commentator von Schnitzler, be they retired people or those on family business--is a daily occurrence in West Berlin. As a rule, the affected shopkeepers call the police when a shoplifter is caught, even if he comes from the GDR. However, the criminal investigation authorities make no special note as to whether a perpetrator comes from the East or not. Therefore the spokesman for the Berlin minister of justice can only provide the sum total of the number of shoplifting crimes prosecuted in the past year: about 21,500. According to estimates, about one-fifth of those were perpetrated by Germans from the GDR. Most of the cases involving shoplifting by visitors from the GDR and East Berlin were dismissed because of the negligible values involved. The West Berlin justice authorities refer only about three to four cases per month to the GDR authorities.

In reply to a parliamentary inquiry from an SPD delegate, Berlin's Minister of Justice Scholz recently described legal procedures used against shoplifters from the East. He stated that until 1976 criminal acts, especially shoplifting, committed by visitors from the GDR and East Berlin in the FRG,



including West Berlin, usually remained unpunished since the cases were dismissed due to the absence of the accused. To eliminate this de facto preferential treatment in the prosecution of visitors from the GDR and East Berlin in comparison with locally domiciled perpetrators, the Federal Ministry of Justice and the 11 Land justice authorities agreed in February 1976 that in the future such cases were not to be dismissed because of the absence of the accused. Instead, actions initiated in the FRG and West Berlin against inhabitants of the GDR and East Berlin were to be turned over to the prosecutors of the domicile of the persons concerned in the GDR. However, it was decided that such a referral to a GDR prosecutor was to take place only if the trial had not already been concluded here in the presence of the accused, especially in the case of an abbreviated trial procedure.

The 1976 agreement states further that prior to referral of a case to GDR authorities, especially in cases of shoplifting, consideration should be given to dismissing the case in view of negligible damage. Such consideration could include the special psychological situation of the perpetrators, who are exposed to a greater availability of merchandise, and could "be somewhat generous in opting for case dismissal" because of negligible criminal violation.

However, in implementing the 1976 agreement, difficulties are said to have arisen in making Germans from the GDR and East Berlin serve sentences imposed here after their return home. While the FRG and the GDR have since 1973 been negotiating a juridical agreement, no such agreement has been concluded to date because of disagreement on the question of citizenship. Thus the Federal Ministry of Justice and the 11 Land justice authorities agreed in 1985 that "in conjunction with the procedures used since 1976 for referrals of cases to the GDR, the same procedure should be followed if it is apparent that a sentence imposed here in such a case will not be served during the expected stay of the accused."

The referral of cases of perpetrators from the GDR and East Berlin to GDR criminal justice authorities has given rise to fears in West Berlin that those concerned would on the other side be subject to additional trials and sentences--perhaps for currency violations--or to heavier sentences than over here. Minister of Justice Scholz replied that there are no indications whatever that the perpetrators would suffer any disadvantages by having their cases referred which would violate constitutional principles. The Federal Ministry of Justice and the Land justice authorities assume that in case of referrals of shoplifting cases the accused would be tried exclusively for "theft of personal or private property." The West Berlin justice authorities have no specific insight as to the actual fate of GDR shoplifters caught in West Berlin when their cases are referred to the GDR.

9273/12948  
CSO: 2300/470

KNOWN SHOPLIFTERS DENIED TRAVEL PERMISSION

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 112, 23 Jul 86 pp 1-2

/Article datelined IWE Berlin 23 Jul 86: "Prohibition on Western Travel For GDR Pensioners"/

/Text/ The GDR is prohibiting travel to the West for those persons caught shoplifting on visits to the West, if the pertinent proceedings are transmitted to the GDR authorities by the legal authorities here. A case like this has just been publicized for the first time in West Berlin. According to a police report published in a local edition of the SED newspaper MAERKISCHE VOLKSSTIMME, in June 1986 the criminal police in Zossen (Potsdam bezirk) "instituted an investigation for theft of personal property" against a GDR citizen from the village of Baruth, "based upon a request from the West Berlin public prosecutor." According to the police report, the investigation had shown that the accused man had made use of a visit to West Berlin on 17 January 1986 "to engage in shoplifting in several department stores." The accused had stolen a total of four wrist watches, two pairs of pliers, an electric current tester and a ball point pen from several department stores. Since the accused "had considerably damaged the reputation of the GDR and its citizens" in the commission of these crimes, he had been "barred from travel requiring a visa." It was noted in the police report that he now was obliged to answer in court for the cited criminal acts.

Presumably the accused was a pensioner. Until now, cases of this sort have not been reported in the GDR media. Observers do not discount the possibility that this one was publicized to have a deterrent effect.

Cases of shoplifting by visitors from the GDR are not at all rare in West Berlin. They are not separately recorded, but there are estimates that about 4,000 cases of shoplifting per year, or roughly one-fifth of those reported in West Berlin, are attributable to GDR citizens. Most proceedings are dismissed, to be sure, as petty crime. The West Berlin legal authorities transmit only about three or four cases per month to the GDR authorities.

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CSO: 2300/502

## SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, JULY 1986

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 7, Jul 86 (signed to press 11 Jun 86)  
pp 578, 670-671

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Karl Hartmann, SED Central Committee candidate, first deputy rector and director of the science sector of political economy and economic sciences at the SED Central Committee's Karl Marx party college; pp 591-597]

[Text] Key to Strong Growth for the Good of the People

Our coping with the scientific-technical revolution also marks our manner of serving the good of man. Each step we take in introducing key technologies is aimed at higher social and economic effects. Which conceptual material and political-ideological prerequisites are being created for it and how are they being further extended? How do we use the capacity of the combines for broadly employing them in seeking economic effects?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gerd Friedrich, deputy director of the SED CC's Central Institute for socialist economic management, corresponding member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the council on matters of economic management; pp 598-604]

[Text] Hastening the Combines' Reproduction Process

Acting more consistently still in accordance with the time economy law calls for pervading all phases of the reproduction process in each combine with an economically effective development and application of the key technologies. What conclusions derive from that, especially for an efficient use of modern data processing techniques?

[Summary of article by Dr Horst Enders, top science assistant in the industrial economics department at the SED Central Committee's Karl Marx party college; pp 605-610]

[Text] Coping with CAD Technology--A Challenge to Political-Ideological Work

Achieving a perceptible efficiency gain through introducing CAD technology in R&D calls for furthering the users' performance capacity and motivation on the basis of a consistent rationalization strategy. What demands arise from that for political management efforts?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, research sector chief at the Institute for the Political Economy of Socialism at the SED Central Committee's Social Sciences Academy; pp 611-617]

[Text] Data Processing Technique Taps New Sources for Economic and Social Progress

The rapid entry of key technologies in our economy has complex social and economic effects. Obvious changes in the function of man are due to data processing techniques. Which technification trends in mental work are ascertainable today? What new opportunities does man obtain from this technology? Why does precisely the socialist society multiply the benefit of this technology?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Salecker, team leader in the department for economic-mathematical methods at the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management; pp 618-621]

[Text] Tasks and Experiences in Hastening the Introduction of CAD/CAM in Our Combines

Mastering CSD/CAM systems marks an important field of the struggle for permanent performance improvements in our economy. Which prerequisites for that exist in the combines and are to be set up further in the future? What is part of CAD/CAM systems and what can they do? How do progressive combines manage this new technology?

[Summary of article by Bruno Mahlow, diplomate in political science, member of the SED Central Auditing Commission and SED Central Committee deputy department head; pp 622-628. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] On the Path of Far-reaching Changes--On Dietz Verlag's Publication of Michael Gorbachev's Selected Speeches and Essays]

Just published by the Dietz Verlag, the selected speeches and essays of Michail Gorbachev, starting at the CPSU Central Committee's plenum in April 1985, offer a thorough insight into the current phase of social development in the USSR and illuminate the creative essence of the domestic and foreign policy course of Lenin's party, which can hardly be overrated in its importance to international affairs.

[Summary of article by Peter Schubert, political scientist, staff member of the SED Central Committee; pp 629-634]

[Text] The Bulgarian People's Republic: Resolutions With an Eye to the Year 2000

The balance sheet drawn up by the 13th BCP Congress, and the priorities for the country's further advances. What are the Bulgarian communists focusing on so as to meet the higher demands made on the party's leadership role in coping with the challenges of the present? The active peace struggle--a concern of the first rank in Bulgaria's foreign policy.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Reinhold Miller, research sector chief at the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of the SED Central Committee's Social Sciences Academy; pp 635-639]

[Text] On the Political-Moral Consequences of Our Actions in the Peace Struggle

The threat of nuclear catastrophe against mankind and the need to strengthen in every way socialism as the chief bastion of peace make high demands on everyone in our society, on his sense of moral responsibility and his appropriate conduct. How can ideological-political work based on theory create awareness for the consequence of each deed to peace?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Eberhard Poppe, of the Department of Political Science and Jurisprudence at the Martin Luther University in Halle and Wittenberg, and Dr Angelika Zschiedrich, of the Institute for the Theory of the State and Law at the GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 640-646. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Socialist Democracy as the Realization of Human Rights

Among the accomplishments of socialism are basic rights historically new in quality. What is their significance to the true realization of human rights? Why is socialist democracy inseparable from the realization of human rights? Why are socialist basic rights and duties so closely linked? What is the demand raised by the realization of human rights in the process of socialist democracy and incumbent on all leaders?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Rudolph, director of the GDR's Central Institute for Vocational Training, corresponding member of the GDR's Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; pp 647-652]

[Text] Vocational Training Faces Another Great Test



What are the conclusions that derive from the future requirements in coping with science and technology, especially in introducing and applying the key technologies, for the education and training of the apprentices? Continuing training for specialists and master workers as the part of vocational training that can most rapidly and flexibly react to new and diverse labor requirements.

[Summary of article by Dr Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee and Minister of Culture; pp 653-659. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Culture in the Social Strategy of our Party

Without a high intellectual-cultural level for all the people and the individual it is impossible to cope with the scientific-technical revolution. Which new demands arise from this dialectic for managing cultural processes in shaping diversified and rich opportunities for cultural activities at leisure time, encouraging the creation of art, and tapping and handing on our cultural heritage?

5885

CSO: 2300/497

## GORBACHEV WRITINGS EDITION GREETED, LAUDED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 7, Jul 86 (signed to press 11 Jun 86)  
pp 622-628

[Article by Bruno Mahlow, diplomate in political science, member of the SED Central Auditing Commission and SED Central Committee deputy department head: "On the Path of Far-reaching Changes--On Dietz Verlag's Publication of Michael Gorbachev's Selected Speeches and Essays"]

[Text] The communists, the GDR citizens, well remember the days of the 11th SED Congress and the attendance of the CPSU delegation headed by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee. They became another high point in shaping the indestructible fraternal alliance between our parties, states, and peoples, as was pointed out by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee. (Footnote 1) (Cf. "SED Leadership Meets CPSU Delegation," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 April 1986, p 1) The 27th CPSU Congress and our 11th party congress lent strong impulses to fashioning it in continuity. In his welcoming address at the 11th SED Congress, M. S. Gorbachev explained to the GDR communists as close friends and fellow-comrades of Lenin's party the CPSU's current political course. That is why the publication of the German edition of his selected speeches and essays is going to meet with special attention and widespread interest.

The documents included in the Dietz Verlag volume cover a very important and responsible period in the life of the CPSU and of the Soviet Union--the time that prepared directly for the 27th CPSU Congress. The decisive starting point for it was set by the April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. M. S. Gorbachev's speech during that plenum introduces the present compendium. The principles formulated in it in the Soviet communists' struggle for a noticeable acceleration of the country's economic and social development continue to be dealt with in the subsequent contributions up to the speech at the October 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that issued the drafts for the 27th party congress documents. The German language edition supplements those documents by including important political speeches and interviews, especially in connection with the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva and the comprehensive peace proposals by the Soviet Union, of 15 January 1986, on freeing the world of atomic weapons.

Relying on a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of what Soviet society has achieved thus far and of the new requirements, the present studies illuminate the character of radical change in the current period of the USSR's social development. Continuing the Leninist tradition in accounting for the dialectical unity of continuity and creativity, M. S. Gorbachev, in his speech at the April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, affirms the continuity in the strategic course set down by the 26th party congress and the subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee and, at the same time, underscores the following: "Continuity in Lenin's sense means steady advances, recognizing and resolving new problems, and surmounting all that which blocks our development. We have to carry on this Leninist tradition without restraint while enriching and developing further the party policy, the general line aimed at perfecting the society of developed socialism" (p 11).

Also in connection with the CPSU program revision, in his speech at the October 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, M. S. Gorbachev picks up that idea, where he underscores that consistency and continuity in the development of theory and in the CPSU program guidelines are a question of principle while they at the same time absolutely presuppose the creative further development and enrichment of the theory through theses of principle in conformity with historic experiences (cf. pp 379-380). He explains that it is possible today to gain a better and more accurate view of the ways to perfect socialism and attain communism. The CPSU is undeterred in holding on firmly to the communist course and assumes that there is and can be no sharp dividing line between the two phases of the one and only form of communist society. Based on this Marxist idea, the author takes issue with two extremes in this matter. For one thing he turns against attempts at rushing ahead to communism, at jumping over necessary developmental phases, at disrespecting the material and mental prerequisites and a society's degree of maturation. And then again he demonstrates that what matters is to recognize tasks in good time and not to hesitate making changes that have become ripe.

In this sense, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary passionately advocates for communists more audacious and creative thought in principle and more consistent action. As early as on the April plenum he called for wasting no time, for consistently gauging practical action against the course set down, and for showing high organization and discipline, innovator spirit, daring, resolve, and tenacity.

#### Acceleration Strategy

The essence of the current party course M. S. Gorbachev formulated as follows: Through accelerating the country's economic and social development producing a new quality of Soviet society (cf. p 381). This course was set after a characterization, of principle, of the historic achievements of the USSR and after a critical assessment of the unfavorable tendencies surfacing in the 1970's and the early 1980's and their causes, at the CPSU Central Committee's April plenum. The acceleration conception also constitutes the central core of the program documents issued at the 27th CPSU Congress.

Its implementation is expected to assure the Soviet people of a materially and intellectually rich and socially dynamic life in peace and bring out still more extensively and clearly the opportunities and advantages of this civilization historically new in type embodied in the socialist order (cf. pp 378-379).

The need for such a course is derived primarily from the requirements for productive forces development, from human needs, and from having to transform and perfect many sides of the production relations, the economic management methods, and the form and style of party and state management activity in the new stage of development in which Soviet society is. With it, the acceleration strategy is a marked response to the challenges resulting from international developmental processes, especially from the struggle to preserve human civilization.

The positions of socialism in the world essentially depend on the conclusions linked with that and on the practical consequences in the further advances of the Soviet Union. This strategic realization, as the author demonstrates, also determines the central place of the CPSU's economic strategy.

In his speech at the April plenum of the Central Committee and during the June conference on questions of scientific-technological progress as well as in other speeches, M. S. Gorbachev is calling for a decisive and radical change in coping with economic tasks. That calls for a qualitatively new and truly revolutionary approach to coping with the scientific-technical revolution and the comprehensive utilization of its results and to developing forms of socialist economic management that conform to today's conditions and requirements. The author demonstrates that this task can certainly be achieved and that a general acceleration of the speed of growth is obtainable "if we place in the center of our efforts the intensification of the economy and the acceleration of the scientific-technical progress" (p 13) and if the "transition is made to new technological system in principle, to the most up-to-date technology, which would ensure the highest efficiency" (p 15). The author supplements this orientation, on the basis of which a comprehensive breakthrough is to be achieved in labor productivity and in the effectiveness of social production in its whole range and over a long time span, by bringing out the most pressing tasks for the immediate use of the reserves of the first instance: a consistent enforcing of socialist order and labor discipline in all sectors, high organization and economic management, supervision, a strict implementation of the socialist performance principle and so forth.

The tasks in speeding up the country's economic and social development amount to an all-inclusive economic policy program. This relates not only to a higher rate of growth, but also to a higher quality of development, the transition to intensive development, to more rapid advances in strategically significant directions, more effective forms of management, labor organization and incentives, and to a comprehensive solution for the social problems (cf. p 118).

The detail contained in the volume on economic problems, on working out such key issues as intensification, scientific-technical progress, effectiveness,



quality, labor productivity, the development of high-tech and modern techniques in their unity with social policy--while different in dimensions and concrete methods--overwhelmingly demonstrate the identity of approaches by the CPSU and the SED to the basic problems of economic strategy relying on a more intensive and comprehensive utilization of the advantages of the socialist planned economy.

Relying on the Leninist principles of the socialist planned economy, the author presents the tasks in reorganizing economic management and creating a closed system of economic management. Doing so, he emphasizes that the plan, the further strengthening and development of democratic centralism, is decisive for determining the economic development. At the same time he demonstrates how important it is to combine the greater efficiency of the central management and planning element with a perceptible expansion of economic self-reliance and responsibility in the enterprises and associations, develop new planning methods, and foster the working people's initiative and performance through a more effective use of economic levers. "The prime criterion for the performance rating of all economic units under socialist circumstances must lie in achieving optimum end results and in satisfying social requirements as fully as possible. The whole management system and economic mechanism must be geared to that." (p 137)

#### Effective Social Policy

In his speeches and essays M. S. Gorbachev explains that as regards to man and the care for him the CPSU assigns the highest requirements to all functionaries and requires more attention from them for social issues. The party's effective social policy is to embrace all of man's vital spheres--his working and living conditions, his health and leisure, all the way down to the social, class-bound, and national relations. In analyzing the totality of the national and international factors for speeding up the country's economic and social development, the author underscores this: "One cannot approach the workers class, farmers, and the intelligentsia with a policy that fails to ensure an adequate rise in the people's standard of living." (p 152)

At the April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee he explains that the meaning and purpose of the speed-up in the country's economic and social development amount to "raising the people's standard of living steadily, step by step, improving all aspects of the life of Soviet men, and creating favorable conditions for harmonious personality development." (p 17) That implies a more consistent enforcing of a fair distribution of material and intellectual values and encourages stronger effects by the social factors on economic development, particularly on the increase in its efficiency. In explaining the draft documents for the 27th party congress that were presented to the October plenum, M. S. Gorbachev defined the party's attitude toward the social problems as follows: "The party regards the social policy as the most effective means for speeding up the country's economic development and boosting the labor and sociopolitical activities of the masses, and as an important factor for the political stability of society, the forming of the new man, and the enforcing of the socialist way of life." (p 381)



## All-Round Development of Socialist Democracy

Proceeding from the principles of Lenin, who found the most important source for the strength and vitality of socialism in the live creativeness of the masses, and from his demand that socialist democracy should not be thought of as an abstraction, M. S. Gorbachev brought out the need to expand and deepen socialist democracy in every way. There he underscored: "Without creating the prerequisites for an everyday, active, and effective participation by all working people and their collectives and organizations in solving the problems of state and social life, we shall not be able to make headway successfully." (p 382)

Every real step in deepening the democratic principles for the activity of the state and social organizations, in strengthening the controls from below and in expanding publicity is regarded as especially important in view of having to solve the most intricate tasks today. In his documents the author touches on all aspects of this activity--from shaping further the role of the Soviets via party and state organ activities all the way to the needed greater concrete responsibility of the social organizations, especially the trade unions and the Comsomol. At the October plenum he summarizes the ideas and goals of the CPSU for developing the political system of Soviet society, relying on the knowledge, talent, energy, and initiative of the masses, by the following observation: "In short, we have to make maximal use of the democratic nature of socialism and meet the requirements of life by the creativeness of the masses." (p 382)

All the tasks to be resolved thereby Comrade Gorbachev emphatically and systematically links with the needed improvement of the political and ideological educational efforts and their closest ties with real life. Therefore he most resolutely advocates doing away with formalism, empty phraseology, patronizing, seeing to it that words conform with deeds. He reiterates how important the unity of all sides of party policy is by the remark: "Only through a prudently conceived economic strategy, an effective social policy, and target-directed ideological educational work inseparably at one can the human factor be activated without which none of the questions raised can be settled." (p 382)

## For a New Approach in International Affairs

The present volume is permeated by the principle of the unity of domestic and foreign policy while it also eloquently expresses the continuity and creativity in the international activity of the CPSU and of the Soviet state, their capability to look at realities unbiased, assess them objectively, and react flexibly. The author makes clear that the Soviet Union is undeterred in letting itself be guided by the Leninist tasks in socialist foreign policy in the struggle for and safeguarding of peace and imposing a peaceful co-existence onto states with differing social orders, for the most favorable international conditions for the consolidation of socialism as in the solidary acts in support of all social and national liberation fighters.

The essence of the socialist order contains the sources for the successes in Soviet foreign policy, as the compendium demonstrates. The Soviet people not

only understand and approve it, their practical efforts support it. "The more successful this work is," the author emphasizes, "the richer and stronger is our homeland, and the weightier is its contribution to the cause of world peace and the progress of humanity." (p 172)

The selected speeches and essays comprehensively analyze the chief tendencies in international development facing each other in the world arena. Proceeding from this creative Marxist-Leninist analysis, the leashing of the forces of militarism and of war, the safeguarding of a stable peace and of a reliable security are characterized as the basic problem of our time (cf. p 383), on the solution of which depends the destiny of the peoples, in fact, the fate of the world. The author makes a special point of how important it is to find ways to counter the challenge that would come, in particular, from the implementation of the U.S. SDI project--as that would trigger processes that might obviate the chance for seeking a peaceful settlement of problems (cf. p 323)

From that situation M. S. Gorbachev derives the need for radical new thought and for a bolder and more resolute approach to international issues. For ensuring peaceful cooperation he regards as unsuitable today "the criteria of the past and the limited notions about unilateral advantages and superiority, which furthermore are wholly illusory." He appeals for unmercifully breaking with traditions and the modes of thinking and conduct that rely on weapons and military strength in international affairs, implying the readiness to use them too, if need be. In the L'HUMANITE interview he drives that idea to its logical conclusion: "In the atomic age you cannot live--at least not long--with the psychology, habits, and modes of behavior of the stone age." (p 453)

Shaking up the conscience of man, M. S. Gorbachev points out that no one is entitled today to look at what happens in the world as an outsider. With realism and sobriety he reflects that much strength and time will be needed to remove the obstacles to permanent peace in the world. "But without it, without the proper reconsiderations, I should say," as the author concludes e.g. in his speech on French TV in September 1985, "and naturally also without the political will, it will be hard, if not impossible, to improve the situation. Foreign policy today decides the fate of each nation, each person, be he a plain citizen or a leading politician." (p 314) Convincingly he brings out that today, when international relations are marked by greater reciprocal interstate relations and mutual dependency, a new policy in conformity with the time is required that proceeds from the realities of today's world. Such a policy must be constructive to the highest extent and accord with the tremendous variety of social and political forces that are having effects in the world. The search for new methods and procedures for the solution of vital problems requires, as the author emphasizes, realistically taking into account the sometimes disharmonious and, at times, even colliding interests.

The author draws a sharp, realistic picture of the ominous dangers of a nuclear inferno which emanate from imperialist forces and yet makes clear that the CPSU and the USSR do by no means regard war as an irremediable fate but are consistently carrying on their peace policy. He puts it this way:

"We shall continue in the future to use every chance for constructive dialogue with the West for the recovery of the international situation." (p 47). "We are all set to conduct the contest with capitalism exclusively on the basis of peaceful, creative activity." (p 170) Eloquent evidence for the Soviet Union's undeterred peace course are the far-reaching proposals included in the volume which the CPSU Central Committee's general secretary offered on 15 January 1986 and which became the central element of the comprehensive peace program for humanity the 27th party congress has issued.

Within the scope of the new approach to international affairs, the purposeful promotion of as broad a collaboration as possible of various political forces, central importance is being attributed to further consolidating the socialist countries' collaboration. M. S. Gorbachev derives this particularly from the requirement to develop a "still much more active joint peace struggle," (p 169), making the point that under prevailing conditions one should mainly have to consider strengthening the international positions of the socialist countries and contributing to the all-round cooperation among them. Treating such questions, he mainly comments on such tasks as the deepening of economic cooperation, the development of an optimum, highly effective economic integration mechanism among the CEMA countries, well organized production specialization and cooperation, and speeding up the coping with science and technology. (Cf. p 169) A higher degree of economic integration, so he concludes with reference to Lenin's guideline on the reciprocal conditioning and influence between economics and politics, will also encourage in other sectors a new quality of cooperation among the fraternal countries.

The accounts presented of the international fundamental problems, the development of world socialism, the scope of the struggle for safeguarding world peace, and the cooperation among various progressive forces already contain many important ideas that were then further developed in the Central Committee's political report to the 27th CPSU Congress. They vividly show that the CPSU attributes the greatest importance to a more active international mass and alliance policy in the struggle for safeguarding peace and to mobilizing all forces of reason, realism and good will. The 27th CPSU Congress confirmed the remark made by M. S. Gorbachev at the October Central Committee plenum that the CPSU in its relations with all progressive forces would let itself be guided by a permanent solidarity with their struggle, respect for any views of theirs, and the desire "to contribute to the consolidation of their unity—which is that dialectical unity of the diversity that is germane to the entire organism of the real socialist world, the workers and communist movement, the national liberation movement, and all movements against reaction and aggression for peace and progress." (p 384)

#### New Demands Made on the Party's Leadership Activity

From the magnitude, the profound meaning, and the intricacy of the tasks to be solved in domestic as well as international policy, M. S. Gorbachev in all his documents derives new and higher requirements for the level of the party's leadership activity in all domains and levels. Here he underscores the need to take a new approach to all aspects of party work (cf. p 386), gain a deeper insight into the situation, and make more of self-critical and businesslike thinking. He makes the point that success depends on the attitude, on the atmosphere "the party organizations know how to create in all

places, on the rigor with which the party fights against backwardness, parochialism, and local narrow-mindedness, inefficient economic management, and waste." (pp 143-144)

Of inestimable importance for a party worker, as the author keeps showing in his contributions and through his personal practical acts, are permanent vivid ties with the workers, farmers, intellectuals, and youth, a close bond with the masses, and a well-timed grasp of the mood people are in. He deals in detail with more rigorously enforcing the Leninist norms of party life in everyday practice, with presenting accounts and with the supervisory duty, with cadre policy and, in particular, with the role-model effect of the communists. In his speech on the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, M. S. Gorbachev stresses the "extremely important ability to act, as Lenin has taught, on the strength of respect, 'of energy, of greater experience, of greater versatility, of greater talent.' (Footnote 2) (V. I. Lenin: "Letter to a Comrade about Our Organizational Tasks," "Werke" [Works], Vol 6, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1956, p 234) Fewer words, assurances, and promises, more real deeds and practical results, more of a sense of responsibility and firmness in principles, smooth working processes, attention to people, and personal modesty--therein lies the most important criterion for judging all cadres, their ideological solidity and competence, that is the essence of the demands the party makes on the style and methods of work." (p 60)

In these studies of his M. S. Gorbachev expresses that the tasks facing the communists and all working people in the Soviet Union--the decisive acceleration of the socioeconomic and intellectual development of Soviet society and the struggle for a decisive turn in international affairs--are deeply revolutionary. He therefore calls the practical action program prepared for the 27th CPSU Congress a program truly revolutionary in character and scope. (Cf. pp 452-453) His studies are imbued with the firm belief in the creative capacities of socialism and of the Soviet people and with the conviction that the pioneering, great and weighty tasks will be coped with by a very high degree of concentration, consciousness, and organization. This conviction was also expressed in the welcoming address to the 27th CPSU Congress by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, when he said: "You are adopting tasks of a new dimension which already suggest what penetrating changes are going to take place in your country during the coming years. Through spreading the creativity and energy of the Soviet people and using the advantages and impulses of socialism you will succeed in coping with this grand effort, as the 27th party congress has persuasively announced." (Footnote 3) (Erich Honecker, "Grussansprache . . ." [Welcoming Address], Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1986, pp 8-9)

The present compendium, of that one can be sure, is going to enrich significantly what the reader knows about this grand effort and about how it is to be achieved, and about the basic issues of socialist and communist construction and international development.

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## INTERDEPENDENCE OF RIGHTS, DUTIES EXAMINED

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[Article by Prof Dr Eberhard Poppe, of the Department of Political Science and Jurisprudence at the Martin Luther University in Halle and Wittenberg, and Dr Angelika Zachiedrich, of the Institute for the Theory of the State and Law at the GDR Academy of Sciences: "Socialist Democracy as the Realization of Human Rights"]

[Text] It is becoming ever more obviously apparent that with our republic, as a first in German history, a state was created, which is steadily developing further, in which, as Comrade Erich Honecker put it at the 11th party congress, "full employment, increasing public prosperity, social justice, and the people's exclusive and full democracy exist in true freedom."<sup>1</sup>

And indeed, life in our country is marked by that every day millions of citizens, by diverse activities in different social sectors, deliberately influence the further shaping of the developed socialist society and, hence, their personal future. That was documented by the creative acts in the periphery of the 11th party congress and becomes apparent once again in the commitments it engendered among members of all classes and strata for performing, through committed, initiative-rich actions, as high a contribution as possible to the continued successful development of our republic and, hence, to the preservation of peace. Many facts demonstrate that exercising the right to codetermination and co-shaping by the citizens in all domains of society is "increasingly becoming the crucial sign of life in socialism."<sup>2</sup>

This fact, so much taken for granted by many, belongs among the historic accomplishments of socialism and is of fundamental importance to the true realization of human rights. If in our republic human rights are "not merely articles of the constitution, but reality," and each citizen is addressed by "the call to share in the work, in the planning, and in the governing,"<sup>3</sup> it is due to the fact that in socialist society political power is exercised by the workers class which, led by its Marxist-Leninist party and in alliance with the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, and the other working people, realizes the people's interests.



## Socialist Fundamental Rights Are Creative Rights

The exercise of political power by the people and on behalf of the people and the public ownership in the means of production also are decisive for that in socialist society the rights, as the will of the ruling class turned into law, serves to shape and steadily further develop an existence of human dignity for all.

Also the historically new quality of the basic rights socialism has created is due to the historically new position of the working people as the sovereign of its own destiny. That finds its expression in that the socialist state, a first in the history of mankind, guarantees its citizens basic rights in all domains of their lives--in the political, economic, social, cultural-intellectual field as for the protection of their personal sphere and development--and that it consistently champions the unity and indivisibility of all the rights a man needs to develop his personality. Ensuring these rights at the same time is the legal constitutional expression for that socioeconomic conditions exist in socialist society which, due to the abolition of the private ownership in the means of production and, hence, of the exploitation of man, foster the personality development and make possible and require the release of the creative personality capabilities.

Equally characteristic of the historically new quality of the socialist basic rights is that they are true creative rights. Be it the right to the protection of peace and of the socialist fatherland, the freedom of opinion or assembly, the voting right, the right to work, education, and and taking part in the sociocultural life--all these rights prompt the citizen to help shape and develop in his own interest the social circumstances in his enterprise or cooperative, in his community or in his town. As true creative rights they thus reflect that in socialist society every citizen has the right to bring an influence to bear on the development of society and the state, in that citizens have the full freedom and the responsibility for further developing that society through their purposeful and committed efforts in which man, his well-being and his interests, become the measure and purpose of all social action. The basic socialist rights thus are by no means merely passive reflexes of the socioeconomic and political quiddity of socialist society, rather, they are the means the citizen has to engage himself and for society. That at once also conforms with the realization of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism that human emancipation cannot come through detachment of man from society, but only through this process in which, under the purposive and systematic exercise of political working class power, the working people's domination over their natural and social terms of existence is realized.

Socialism's historic achievement as to human rights expresses itself precisely in that democracy and the realization of human rights form an inseparable unity. Man stands in the center. His interests and well-being are the measure and goal and determine the substance of socialist democracy. Through exercising his right to taking part in the development of state and society, man becomes the true subject in shaping the social, and thus his own, life. As long ago as on the Eighth SED Congress, Comrade Erich Honecker clarified that. "With all men we want to make ever more perfect the socialist society for all men in this country. This is what remains the top precept of our thinking and doing:

Nothing is done here for its own sake! Nothing works without the people's strength! Everything serve the well-being of the working men!"<sup>24</sup> This lucid pledge to socialist humanism as an essential trait of socialist democracy also determines the substance of the rights and freedoms vested in the GDR Constitution. It not only proclaims that man be the overriding concern of socialist society and its state (Article 2), but it also regulates his rights and freedoms as genuine creative rights of socialism.

The realization of the basic socialist rights as creative rights is inseparable from the basic rights protecting the lives and harmonious conviviality of the citizens, and their personal freedom, dignity and sphere of existence from phenomena alien to socialism. That is expressed in the conscientiously fashioned legal protection for individual personality development. Thus the freedom of conscience and belief, the unviolability of one's residence, of postal and telegraph secrecy, of biographical data, and of personal property are constitutionally guaranteed. The guaranteed personal rights, centered in the inviolability of the personality and the freedom of each GDR citizen, are among the reasons for the by now proverbial sense of safety in socialism, which activates many citizens toward taking a part in shaping this society.

How much importance attaches to the basic socialist rights as historic accomplishments of socialism for a genuine realization of human rights is shown, not least, by glancing at the capitalist world. Massive unemployment, educational emergencies, increasing social insecurity and cutbacks in trade union rights are indicative of that this society cannot grant the individual the rights fundamental to leading a life of human dignity, that it, above all, denies him the exercise of say-so and codetermination in the crucial sectors of life.

Of course, capitalist and imperialist states also establish basic rights for their citizens. And undoubtedly, such bourgeois basic rights, the constitutionality of which normally has been and is the outcome of successful struggles by the workers and other democratic forces, are of an importance not to be underrated for the just struggle by the working people against exploitation and suppression. However, to the exploiter state such rights mainly have the function to veil the real power relations. The purpose of such basic rights, which bourgeois theoreticians are all too eager to call the first and foremost of "genuine" human rights, purportedly is that the citizens through them can fend off government power meddling and infringements into their personal sphere (rights of defense) or take part in the (communal) government administration (partnership or participatory rights).

If today, e.g., bourgeois political law and jurisprudence like to label some basic rights in their constitutions as participatory rights, one finds behind it not only the design to direct the citizens' conduct toward government conformity. Rather, that means to hide the fact that bourgeois democracy and the working people's basic rights patently permit no instrumental influence on the imperialist regime's decisions. Were it otherwise, then there would likely not be any deployment of U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons in the FRG, Italy, Belgium, Britain, and the Netherlands, no job restrictions and lock-outs, no defamation, vicious discrimination against the peace movement, and no other social manifestations incompatible with human dignity and freedom.

All this shows the babble about the working people's taking part in imperialist government power into the area of political cosmetics. The GDR government's ongoing raids against the working people's right to strike demonstrate that the class struggle, and by no means the "participatory rights" or the "concerted action" or whatever the placating or deceptive formulas may be, controls the relations between imperialist regime and the working people as well as the practice of human rights in the capitalist countries.

When one wants to answer the question what human rights and their realization in a given society are like, one must first and foremost inquire into the class character because it determines the objective relation between man and society. One has to examine to what extent they assure the citizens of constitutional basic rights altogether, whether these are "defensive" or "participatory" or actual creative rights, and whether and how these rights are guaranteed in practice and being enforced. If one thus goes to the heart of things it becomes apparent that socialism ensures the realization of human rights on a historically higher level than any previous society.

#### Socialist Democracy--Testing Ground for the Realization of Human Rights

The process of socialist democracy makes felt and practically perceptible for each individual that he disposes in our society over very many political, economic, cultural, and personal rights through the exercise of which he possesses real chances to influence the shaping of social relations and processes in all domains of life.

If, e.g., prior to the elections this year thousands of work collectives in our country resorted to their political right to enter the debate, as spelled out in Paragraph 17 of the 24 June 1976 election law, for nominating and testing the candidates put up by the democratic parties and mass organizations, the reason for it was that they have real possibilities to bring an influence to bear on the selection of their interest representatives.

Or let us recall that in view of the processes linked with the scientific-technical revolution it is of fundamental importance for any individual to be able increasingly to exercise the right to work as a creative co-shaping right. That, e.g., makes it possible for the work collectives to demand, even during the planning process, that the introducing of new technology go hand in hand with improving the working and living conditions, and that from the very beginning attention is paid to the matters of doing away with heavy physical, hazardous and monotonous work and to health protection, labor safety, and improvements in labor organization. The plan debate, the competition, the innovator movement, and other forms of socialist democracy in the enterprise are increasingly amounting to an important field of experience in which each can through his creative participation help plan and shape the development of science and technology as a social process in conformity with our society's humanistic principles.

Socialist democracy implies taking part in solving social tasks, in carrying out resolutions jointly taken. Democratic participation therefore also becomes a personal testing ground in which the individual can develop and release his creative capabilities. Thus it is part of the essential experiences these

collectives have made that, in preparation for the 11th party congress, assumed ambitious obligations, that the implementation of them has encouraged also the tapping of intellectual potentials, the formation of valuable personality traits and moral attitudes in the individual and in the collective. Aiming at high targets called for new solutions in many ways, for dedication, and a fierce stick-to-itiveness. There must be the courage to take risks. That came together with acquiring new knowledge and with many acid tests. A successful mastery of the tasks resulting from the obligations not only leads to an economically significant result, it brings also personality gains for all involved in it.

Democratic participation, in whichever field, promotes and reinforces the realization that everyone is needed in our society and respected as a personality, that his expert participation is earnestly wanted. In the exact same sense Comrade Erich Honecker writes in his autobiography: "What we wanted and accomplished was to draw all the working people into the discussion and decision-making in all basic matters of social development, making them take part in the management of the state, the economy, education, and culture, in coping with any given tasks and in supervising the implementation of jointly taken resolutions directly. We took this path toward socialist democracy with total resolve, and we shall carry it on."<sup>5</sup> And at the 11th SED Congress he reiterated this deeply humanistic principle behind shaping the socialist society by remarking: "The ever more comprehensive involving of all citizens in resolving public affairs is among the most important democratic traditions of our state."<sup>6</sup>

And indeed, the ever closer relationship of trust between the citizens and the state in our society greatly relies on that the working class party and the socialist state regard it as a decisive task strictly to see to it and to create ever better conditions for it that each can fully develop his own personal abilities and talents and use and apply them in many different ways in his own interest and that of society. How can anyone better respect the dignity of man than by assuring him in everyday life that his word means something and that his ideas, talents and capabilities, his efforts dedicated to the good of the whole, are needed and expected of him?

Democratic participation also provides an individual with the understanding that the realization of human rights in our society is a process in which the exercise of a basic right is closely tied to resorting to another such right. Thus the individual's right to work can, in any given case, mainly be exercised creatively when he at the same time resorts to his right to education and training. Our state, in turn, makes sure that this right is shaped in accordance with new technical and political-ideological requirements. The 11th party congress orientation to the substantive fashioning of scientific-technical general education, the social science training and education of the pupils and the introduction of the course on "automation principles" for all apprentices<sup>7</sup> illustrates, e.g., that socialist society does what it can to ensure education and continuing education on whatever level they are required.



A sound custom it has become in our country, one that is taken for granted, that the citizens exercise their right to freedom of speech everywhere--on the basic issues of socialist social development and politics as on communal and industrial problems. That is attested to by the vast people's debate in preparation for the 11th party congress and its being carried on thereafter. It is also attested to by that in the plan debate on the 1986 national economic plan more than 2.2 million working people took the floor submitting some 735,000 suggestions, recommendations and points of criticism for tapping performance reserves and improving working and living conditions.<sup>8</sup> When has there ever been or is there now a state on German soil in which, as in our republic, the citizens' informed and free expression of opinion not only is legally guaranteed, but is wanted, encouraged, and used for decision-making as much as for assessing results achieved and other social states of affair?

And since informed and free expression of opinion in our public life enjoys a high political place value, is respected and esteemed, the exercise of this basic socialist right not only is an important means for bringing a personal influence to bear on the intellectual life of society, but it also asks for defining one's individual position and often, along with it, stimulates more acquisition of knowledge.

Socialist democracy makes high demands on the intellectual life of society. It demands turning the realization of democracy into a process which leaves room for argumentation, for struggling for the realization of socialist value concepts and ideals. And here one has to take account of the growing political and intellectual-cultural level of our country's citizens. Many working people have gained experiences and abilities through their democratic participation. They want to test their talents in increasing variety for visible successes and use them for society. As practice has shown, this is often an essential reason for the remarkable initiatives by many volunteers among the citizens in the fields of communal policy and the ensuring of order and safety as in their taking part in conflicts and arbitration commissions and many other honorary functions. Many citizens are feeling a greater need to apply their lives' experiences to solving the tasks assigned their collectives. The satisfaction to have something visible for their collective as well as their joy in finding recognition by the collective become important personal experiences to them. If one conforms to this demand for meaningful activity and personal test situations, the readiness to responsibly assume rights and duties that come with it is proven to be great. The personal interest, the joy and gratification coming out of creative democratic participation is as indispensable for socialist society as for the all-round personality development. And any form of participation--be it in one's work life or other sectors, in socialist competition, on the parents' advisory council, in the Chamber of Technology, or in the various working communities and associations--is of special importance to personality development and is encouraged by society.

#### Socialist Democracy--Unity of Civic Rights and Duties

The basic socialist rights are accomplishments of socialism, fought for and purposefully further extended by the GDR citizens, led by the workers class and its party. They are of benefit to each member of our society. At the same



time, however, each citizen in our republic is personally responsible for the whole, for the protection and prosperity of the socialist state. The basic rights and freedoms so also are always linked with duties for the individual--as the duty to engage in useful social activity, the defense duty, the duty to respect and augment socialist property, the duty to respect the Constitution, the laws, and the dignity and personality of the fellow-citizens--the fulfillment of which is indispensably in the interest of society.

Imposing mandatory constitutional obligations also has an ethical aspect. Civic duties orient to compulsory social conduct in society. They are thus of considerable importance to seeing all citizens' equality before the law ensured. They are meant to prevent that some citizens live without a performance of their own at the expense of society or of fellow-citizens or that they enrich themselves by taking advantages of others. They legitimize a legislation and jurisprudence that prevent a behavior that seeks to take part in the socialist accomplishments, e.g. in job security or in the generous social benefits out of increasing social consumption funds, without contributing properly from abilities of one's own toward the performance and protection of socialism.

Basic socialist duties mainly also are an expression of the respect for human dignity. They orient to active and independent acts in the social and, hence, in one's own interest. They assume the citizen is someone who is able and willing to assume responsibility for himself, his fellow-citizen, and society and who is determined actively to help shape the socialist present and future. The socialist basic duties then are also sets of tools for keeping real socialism from understanding human dignity as a passive attribute of being human, but will rather respect it as an intellectual potential and the attitude by each man that wants to make something meaningful of his life in society.

#### State Managers Are Challenged

It is part of the mission the Constitution imposes on all state organs and leaders that they ultimately serve through their activities, invariably, the implementation of the citizens' basic rights. Properly constitutional, i.e. basic rights encouraging management activity means that decisions to be made will not only be correct in substance and effect, not only be in line with socialism,<sup>9</sup> but that they, through their persuasive explanations also further the citizens' conduct in terms of social progress. "Close ties with the working people, sincerity, consistency and justice in dealing with people, a scientific working method, strict regard for the laws and high state discipline should today everywhere be a part of the professional ethos of a functionary in our workers and farmers state."<sup>10</sup>

From the socialist rationalization, e.g., which is proceeding at a vast range, new tasks arise with effects securing the basic rights. After all, this main course for boosting labor productivity involves the most rational use of the labor capacity, the recruiting of manpower into applying modern key technologies, in other words, the opening up of a broad scene for the creative activities of the workers, scientists, and technicians. That requires clear concepts within the enterprises and partly also beyond them, in the territories. This

enhances, in particular, the labor law obligations of enterprise managers, set down in the Labor Code, to inform enterprise collectives at the proper time on upcoming tasks and explain the political and economic references to them (Labor Code Article 19). Already when rationalization measures are drawn up conceptually the involvement and supervision by the trade unions must ensure completely that the "use of key technologies is everywhere, without exception, used prudently and all-inclusively for the further improvement of the working and living conditions and that comprehensive intensification goes hand in hand with the development of socialist labor culture, education, furloughs, and the structuring of leisure time in their whole range and variety."<sup>11</sup>

If we consider that the personal commitment, initiative, and own responsibility of the working people are more crucial than ever for steady performance improvements, so as to make our party's economic strategy take hold with an eye to the year 2000, the whole political range of the law obligation of the managers becomes evident in their directing the working people's initiative at solving the priority tasks and conferring with them about the best solution alternatives (Labor Code, Article 19, Paragraph 1).

The state managers' duty to render account to the collectives (Labor Code, Article 19, Paragraph 2) as well as their legal obligation to create prerequisites for effectively conducting the competition (Labor Code, Article 35) and for the innovator movement (Labor Code, Article 37) must be put into the works always in such a way that thereby motivations are stirred in the working people for investing their facilities with a personal commitment and with joy in solving the tasks. The demands our party makes on the work of the state apparatus for all intents and purposes result from the fact that state management activity is directly linked with the realization and ensuring of the basic rights. Consultations, e.g., about further improving the working and living conditions or about beautifying towns and communities, about preserving housing space or the citizens' personal concerns ultimately touch on problems that most closely affect the citizens' interests, rights and duties. This is the exact sense in which the 11th party congress has emphatically commented on it: "Paying attention to the rights of the citizens, their suggestions and critical recommendations and protecting their fair interests is incumbent on each who bears responsibility in our state."<sup>12</sup> Also the obligation of the local people's representations, to conceive of their conscientiously dealing with the citizens' references and petitions as a fundamental management issue, takes account of the fact that a socialist democracy carries out communal policy together with the citizens and for their benefit.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den XI. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 11th SED Congress], Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1986, p 7.
2. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1976, p 41.
3. Erich Honecker, "Festival Speech at the 30th Anniversary of the GDR," "Reden und Aufsätze" [Speeches and Essays], Vol 6, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1980, p 582.

4. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Central Committee Report to the Eighth SED Congress," "Protokoll der Verhandlungen des VIII. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [Eighth SED Congress Proceedings], Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1971, p 120.
5. Erich Honecker, "Aus meinem Leben" [From My Life], Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1980, p 354.
6. Comrade Erich Honecker, " Bericht . . .," op. cit., p 74.
7. Cf. *ibid.*, pp 62-63, 68.
8. Cf. Willi Stoph, "Program on Creative Efforts to Strengthen Socialism and Safeguard Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 30 November/1 December 1985, p 3.
9. Cf. Hermann Klenner, "Freedom and Human Rights," "Schriften und Informationen des DDR Komitees fuer Menschenrechte," No 1, 1984, p 19.
10. Comrade Erich Honecker, " Bericht . . .," op. cit., p 75.
11. *Ibid.*, p 76.
12. *Ibid.*, p 75.

CSO: 2300/497

## SED'S FURTHERANCE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE OUTLINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 7, Jul 86 (signed to press 11 Jun 86)  
pp 653-659

[Article by Dr Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee and Minister of Culture: "Culture in the Social Strategy of our Party"]

[Text] The 11th SED Congress has convincingly confirmed cultural development as an indispensable element and vital condition for the shaping of socialist society and cultural policy as an organic component of our social policy. The GDR's socialist national culture, an essential feature of our society, is an inestimable factor of its stability and dynamic forward thrust. Its further development, as a profoundly democratic culture determined by the goals and ideals of the workers class, its scientific world-outlook, and the maxims of its way of life, and turning into a culture for all the working people,<sup>1</sup> is linking ever more abundantly and closely with the process of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, the united economic and social policies, the mastery over scientific-technical progress, and socialism's increased defense capacity. This is what the party congress made apparent: Culture and art are gaining still greater importance in implementing the strategy for strengthening socialism and in the struggle for safeguarding peace.

Still more valuable to us becomes our ample cooperation with the creators of culture in the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the mutual acquisition of cultural values and achievements, which emphatically contributes to consolidating our militant alliance in the struggle for peace and social progress. Our efforts to create a coalition of all forces of reason and realism and the conflict between socialism and imperialism demand that we also will bring still more and more convincingly to bear the cultural wealth of socialism.

## Main Battleground and Raising the Cultural Level

"Our main battleground," Comrade Erich Honecker announced, "is the unity of economic and social policy."<sup>2</sup> The focus on a higher cultural standard of living for the people in its indissoluble interaction with the growth of its material standard of living is and remains the pivot and fulcrum of our cultural policy. Extensively augmenting the wealth of the material and intellectual values of socialist culture while ever better satisfying the working people's

material and cultural needs wholly meets the purpose of the main task. The focal point has been placed there on raising the cultural level of the working class and its influence on the development of socialist culture and art.

"An economy the capacity of which increasingly relies on men's capability of coping with highly modern technologies needs, to do well, a creative climate all through public life."<sup>3</sup> If one considers the high rate in which key technologies are prevailing--no longer just here and there, but actually at the whole range of our economy--it becomes obvious that within a very brief period the lives, thinking, and conduct of more and more working people are decisively being changed by complex scientific-technical revolution processes. To apply the advantages of socialism to that, "the realization has to be reinforced that the natural science, technical and technological solutions always also are linked with various social requirements and effects."<sup>4</sup> That is a demand that derives from the meaning of socialism and the essence of our socialist culture. After all, on behalf of man what matters is always to pay attention when technological tasks are to be solved to social factors such as labor contents and conditions, education and training, social relations, personality development, health, the environment and other matters like that. It matters more than ever to use all material and intellectual elements in our socialist culture so that man in our society can truly become the master of production, the ruler of technology. That requires, among other things, the further development of the socialist character of a broadly faceted motivation, interest, and need structure of men relative to the whole wealth of material and intellectual cultural values--a task that calls for the greatest attention by all state organs and social forces. When people are dealing with each other practically, in intellectual life, and in cultural policy leadership activity, moral-ethical questions are more and more coming into the fore. Intellectual-cultural life can and must make an ever more substantial contribution to solving all these tasks.

Scientific-technical progress and the intellectual-cultural life are closely and variously connected with each other in socialism precisely because of the working people's creativeness. Without the working class and each individual rising onto a high intellectual-cultural level, scientific-technical top achievements and coping with the key technologies would not be possible at the range needed for economic growth. Without such achievements, in turn, intellectual-cultural progress could not be assured over the long haul. Economic dynamism through mastering the scientific-technical revolution also presents a tremendous challenge to socialist culture. The substance, rate, and contradictoriness of the scientific-technical progress challenge all senses, rational capacities, and feelings of men. They have to cope with that intellectually and culturally too; therefore, in the sense of such a challenge, that itself assumes an intellectual-cultural dimension.

Scientific-technical progress in socialism not only requires, it also facilitates a greater intellectual sovereignty for man. We are facing the task of fashioning our intellectual-cultural life in such a way that it will in its own fashion help form the conviction that in socialism man for the first time in history has the chance to become the creative shaper and controller of the production processes, gain a real humanistic place in production, and multiply and expand his physical and intellectual capabilities.



Comprehensive intensification embraces a whole program of top requirements placed on political conviction and strength of character, creativity and performance dedication by millions of people, on the development of their creative talents and capabilities, imagination, initiative and commitment, innovator spirit, joy in experimenting and risk-taking willingness, their sense of responsibility, diligence and discipline. In turn: precisely under the conditions of highly automated manufacture, e.g., reaction capability, imagination, mental energy, pleasure in and need for working, motivation, and the moral-ethical factors have a decidedly greater effect on the industrial outcome than they used to have.

The latest science and technology and the use of modern technologies often cause striking changes in the lives of the working people even under socialist conditions. We do take into consideration here that technical means and procedures can faster be changed than can man with his knowledge, work experience, his consciousness, motives and traditions, and his facilities and skills. Modern technology makes high demands on man as a whole. Coping with novel labor contents and terms or a rhythm of life altered through shift labor will cause problems that cannot automatically find solutions in man's interest. And yet it is in line with the essence of socialism deliberately to implement such solutions by using all advantages of our social order and through rationally controlling all social reproduction processes and make possible a meaningful and pleasant existence for all through steadily elevating the people's material and cultural standard of living.

Among the tasks of socialist culture is massively to produce an attitude receptive to technology and appropriately creative behavior, the will and ability constantly to learn, learn more, and relearn, and to create an intellectual-cultural climate that speeds up our scientific-technical progress.

One occasionally runs into the notion, uttered, not last, also by creators of culture, the processes of the scientific-technical revolution were bound to lead to some mental impoverishment of man. It would restrict his world of emotion. Culture and the arts were no longer wanted when one copes with those processes. Yet the tasks and intellectual developmental matters connected with the scientific-technical revolution are so penetrating, multiform, and complicated that we can get hold of them only if the cultural, aesthetic, artistic type of discovery, recognition, and absorption of these changes in our society functions together with the logical-rational and scientific understanding. Therefore, a unified and target-directed effort by scientists and artists, a sensible utilization and further perfecting of the entire intellectual-cultural potential is indispensable for further economic growth, and hence for implementing the unity of economic and social policy.

Man is and remains the most important factor in the scientific-technical revolution. The main productive force, he also is the measure of all things in socialism. All this involves the full development of the "real wealth" of society which--to quote Marx--consists of the "full development of the individual" himself who, in turn, "as the greatest productive force, reacts upon the labor productivity."<sup>5</sup> That makes culture vitally necessary. We need, encourage and use culture in all its varieties and capacities: from socialist work culture all the way to fashioning interesting, differentiated leisure-time

opportunities, the stimulating confrontation with ideological and moral-ethical problems of our times, creative activities in the crafts, technologies, science, design, and art as well as the rich experience of encountering the arts, the appropriation of the cultural heritage.

Along with the quantitative factors, the qualitative ones are now gaining increasing importance. Above all the desire is growing to use the free time available most effectively and satisfy the growing needs on a high level. It is necessary both to extend and further refine all opportunities for creative activity in conformity with the strongly further differentiating personal requirements, interests, inclinations, desires for information and communication, social contacts and sociability, art experience, conversation and entertainment, enjoyment and *joie de vivre*, relaxation and a change of pace, for chances for active recreation, physical relaxation, and diversified, interest-related education.<sup>6</sup>

Even in the time off work, outside one's working hours, the scientific-technical progress increasingly and profoundly affects men's way of life. As technology in no way stops before that sphere of life, specific socialist solutions are needed there too. Modern technology can and must help develop culturally men's lives and their relations with each other during leisure as well, must enrich their intellectual-cultural life. One cannot but underscore that in that sphere we necessarily need no less science and technology for the benefit of relaxation, natural originality and affecting literary ways but rather high-grade technology, adequate to socialist personality development, and a sovereign attitude toward it, a creative manner of dealing with it. One actually has to assume that the scientific manner of shaping socialist society and the massive use of modern technology create the basic prerequisites and broad elbow room for all that contributes to real humanity, a cultured way of life, and a socialist quality of life.<sup>7</sup>

All these processes and relations need still more accurate explorations and analyses so as to still better focus on it the structural framework of culture, cultural efforts, and our cultural policy leadership activity and, mainly, develop it all further on scientific grounds. The unity of economic and social policy and between the material and the cultural is nothing automatic. A consistent creative extension and expansion of what has proven itself is wanted, but so are many new ideas and activities, even a reviewing and rethinking of the function, utilization, modes of effect, and site distribution of cultural institutions and more complex cultural policy leadership activity. In its directive the party congress issued the next fundamental and pressing tasks. They have to be fulfilled rigorously, systematically and most efficiently.

#### The Arts Are Indispensable and Irreplaceable

Literature and art have an increasingly broad and deep effect on our country's intellectual life. The old ideal of the German workers movement, "Art belongs to the people," is more and more becoming reality. An overall social task of the first rank is not to slow up in providing and ensuring the broadest democratic access to all arts and forms of art. That implies our carrying on in providing the working people with steadily improving aesthetic judgement.

Our party, the working class, and all the working people respect the writers and artists as alliance partners, as fellow-combatants in the struggles of our time, as coshapers of our socialist society. This alliance is based on confidence and responsibility. We shall reinforce and extend it further. Erich Honecker issued an action guideline to all state organs and social forces, the mass media and art criticism, when he underscored that our party advocates a creative atmosphere in art development marked by high ideological, moral and ethical demands, and by an attitude toward authors and artists that is firm in principle and, at once, full of trust. A frank and comradely attitude in informed, not so rarely even critical, discussions, clarifications about art in the socialist public, a clearer identification of what has been successful and what has not, and debates on artistic effects with reference to the content of ideas have proven there important preconditions for reinforcing that relationship of trust.<sup>8</sup> This productive relationship between artists and working people has to be reestablished and reinforced time and time again. This process by no means comes without contradictions. We have found often enough that contradictions, conflicts in the moment of experience--as Willi Sitte put it--seemed virtually impossible to resolve, and even so, common approaches were always found to cope with them.<sup>9</sup>

The high appreciation the arts and artists enjoy in socialist society is due to that they--with all the given differentiations and varieties in ideas, propositions, and signatures--are taking a part in the struggles of our time, intervene in them, and actively promote the shaping of the socialist society; that they feel responsible for the view men have of the world and want to tap everything through their work and efforts that socialist personalities need for their development. Art has become among us an indispensable means for public identification, for the dialogue on the image and reality of real humanity, on social processes, value concepts, and the accomplishments as well as the opportunities and needs for active social conduct in socialism. It seeks to stimulate thoughts on the values that make life worthwhile today, it wants to stir the reader, spectator, listener into valuations of their own and into social activity, wants to place them in a suspenseful and creative rapport between ideal and reality.

I understand the party congress as a new challenge for finding socialist answers to the question: What kind of art do we need? This, above all, by means of new works of art. Erich Honecker has affirmed that we need works of art "which strengthen socialism, make us aware of the greatness and beauty of what has been accomplished, often after difficulties, works of art with active, history-forming man in the center."<sup>10</sup>

For that also much has, in particular, to be thought about yet more accurately and also in a new manner. Such as the basic function of art to establish trust in life. That is necessary at a time, above all, in which the basic issue of peace or war means learning to live with one another. The answer includes the structuring, rich in variants and nuances, of all that which makes life worth living, how one works, shapes one's life, what gives pleasure and what makes angry, includes works that conform to the need for harmony and beauty, but also deal with admonishment and warning, with portraying the unimaginable in suffering and sacrifice, and negligence and insouciance. This way then also one has to reflect on Hermann Kant's remark, which met with unanimous agreement from the party congress, that the artists in our country

not give way to the political struggles, and that he as an author is writing for what gets us ahead, for a just and peaceful life--against everything that keeps socialism from being socialism, against everything that obstructs people from humanity: for the friend in all friendship, and in all enmity against the enemy. Equally stimulating is Manfred Wekwerth's insight into greatness and beauty as processes which always suggest man's modifying activity, where greatness and beauty come to the fore precisely because the difficulties are not denied under which they were generated, the chance to cope with them being made conscious by the artistic mode of portrayal. And finally this pertains to active, history-shaping man as the focal point of socialist realism in art. If then a preferential role is granted to the presentation of worker personalities it is because in our time the workers class is that revolutionary class that can lend a dignified human course to world history, the strongest class in numbers and the leading class in our society; because in its life and countenance the materials, subjects, and pictures can and must be found which help us better comprehend the past and the present as well as what lies ahead, bestowing strength and confidence. We want no one-sided views, no cliches, no whitewash or pseudo-optimism. It is rather a matter of fashioning those socialist personality traits, those modes of conduct and thinking, characteristics and relations that distinguish the working people--on the job as in all other spheres of life. And this does not preclude critical evaluations of modes of conduct and activity that are blocking socialism, are alien to it. Willi Sitte is right, here, in the sense of socialist realism, "party-mindedness is demanded as a search, as a curiosity about the ordinary reality of the workers class, how it lives and works, and what its dreams are like."<sup>11</sup>

The artist with his vision and sensitivity also has to address the processes of the scientific-technical revolution. The artistic tasks arising from that are as intricate as they are intriguing as our revolution, after all, needs yet the creative and aware man with desire and curiosity about science as well as art, who feels as enriched by the discoveries of science as by those of art. Scientific-technical progress needs people with artistic sentiment, with aesthetic sense and taste and the artist's capability for pleasure. It is inconceivable that one day man will understand nothing else any more but the abstract language of science, the digital program, will understand no longer the language of poetry.

Art must perform its own, must not get tired and always again answer the ancient and yet always newly raised questions of mankind: What does man live for? What is he there for? What can he do? What is his "ego," his soul and its rights?<sup>12</sup> Art can and must help complement the growth in technology and national income by a steady growth in self-assurance and self-confidence, experience capability and imagination, tension and relaxation, historical and class consciousness and, above all, in joy and pleasure over being able to cope with the scientific-technical progress. This must become the normal everyday attitude. Literature and art must with their specific possibilities more and more affect higher productivity and labor qualities and efficiency, especially as a capacity that orients to values and shapes men. We all--party and state organs, enterprises, social forces, artists associations--can aid the artists in these complicated processes by making still greater efforts in deepening their understanding of the dialectics of socialism and the ongoing immense struggles and developments in the world through a varied



and stimulating intellectual life and through new impulses toward closely integrating life with reality. This one ought to take to heart especially when relating to young artists.

#### Cultural Legacy--Review, Insight, Prospects

Furthermore, as the party congress affirmed, we attach great importance to cultivating, preserving, and disseminating our humanistic cultural heritage. A productive use made of the rich cultural heritage available to us in daily life is of a significance for further social progress not to be underestimated. "By looking back we also look around in the time in which we ourselves are, and we lift our view above and beyond our time into the future," as Johannes R. Becher once put it. "Without looking back there is no insight into the present nor a vision beyond ourselves out into the future."<sup>13</sup>

The tasks in the further shaping of the developed socialist society and the intensified class conflict with imperialism call for an aggressive approach to all the issues of our cultural legacy--to appropriating all that is progressive and the issue-taking with all that is reactionary. The creative appropriation of our heritage and tradition is part of our struggle. Creatively experiencing and absorbing the national and international, humanistic, progressive, and revolutionary legacy can strengthen us in passionately exerting ourselves so that never again will war emanate from German soil and peace triumphs in the world. It helps form and reinforce the ideas of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the knowledge of the lessons of history, a sense for man's dignity, and pride in his creative capacities. Therefore it is a precept of the hour to make greater efforts toward recognizing, preserving, and extending all that was great and noble, humanistic and revolutionary in the past. Without being rooted--in the truest sense of the term--in the progressive traditions, in all of history, real permanent stability will exist neither overall socially nor regionally.

Today more than ever we need on all levels and in all sectors an understanding of and attitude toward our heritage which in a sovereign and creative-critical manner will deal with the valuable and progressive in all eras and all fields of social existence--from the history of classes and strata through the development of the productive forces, morality, and sciences all the way to the arts. We refer to the entire historically grown wealth of human productivity, creativeness and culture, to all the good and valuable placed into the treasury of culture by representatives of all classes and strata. At the same time the task is assigned significantly to reinforce the tapping of the antifascist and socialist cultural heritage and the already significant arsenal of historic cultural traditions and accomplishments by real socialism on German soil. For that we need steady creative everyday efforts, supported by a cooperation among all state organs and social forces and conceived in terms of long-term planning.

At the same time, concentrating on prominent jubilees and anniversaries has proven very productive for orienting the cultivation of our legacy and for political and ideological mass activity by means of the historic and cultural legacy. For the time up to 1990 one may stress as outstanding events of national and international importance in particular: the 750th anniversary



of the founding of Berlin, which will become a highlight in our republic's public life in 1987. In 1989 we shall celebrate Thomas Muentzer's 500th birthday and the 200th anniversary of the beginning of the French Revolution. For between 1987 and 1991 a cycle of tributes has been scheduled to commemorate the 100th or 90th birthdays of noted German proletarian-revolutionary, socialist, or bourgeois-humanistic authors, journal/ists, and artists.

The appropriation of the socialist legacy actively marks the development of socialist personalities and the shaping of their socialist way of life. It proves itself in vivid and creative rapport with present tasks in the struggle for peace and social progress.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Rich Culture--Created by the People for the People," "Reiche Kultur--vom Volke fuer das Volk geschaffen," Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1984, p 12.
2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den XI. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 11th SED Congress], Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1986, p 26.
3. Ibid., p 54.
4. Ibid., p 57.
5. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," "Werke" [Works], Vol 42, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1983, pp 604, 607.
6. Cf. Peter Warnecke, "Higher Criteria for the Effect of Music--Scientific-Technical Progress and Cultural Needs," MUSIK UND GESELLSCHAFT, No 3, 1986, pp 114-115; Hans Koch, "Intensively Expanded Reproduction and the Intellectual-Cultural Life," EINHEIT, Nos 4/5, 1986, p 440.
7. Cf. Gregor Schirmer, "Scientific-Technical and Intellectual-Cultural Progress," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 1, 1986, pp 9-10.
8. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," op. cit., p 71.
9. Cf. Willi Sitte, "For a Visual Socialist-Realist Art," EINHEIT, Nos 4/5, 1986, p 431.
10. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," op. cit., p 70.
11. Willi Sitte, op. cit., p 433.
12. Cf. D. Granin, "The Artist and the Scientific-Technical Revolution," KUNST UND LITERATUR, No 4, 1981, p 399.
13. Johannes R. Becher, "The Poetic Principle," "Gesammelte Werke" [Collected Works], Vol 14, Aufbau Verlag, Berlin/Weimar, 1972, p 311.

## BRIEFS

OUTGOING AMBASSADOR TO ECUADOR--On 23 June Leon Febres Cordero, president of the Republic of Ecuador, received for his farewell visit Heinz Loehn, GDR ambassador to Ecuador. At the meeting the two men praised the positive development of bilateral cooperation. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jun 86 p 2 AU] /12913

OUTGOING AMBASSADOR TO TUNISIA--On 27 June Habib Bourguiba, president of the Republic of Tunisia, received GDR ambassador Bernd Hauke for a farewell visit. Bourguiba appreciated the successful development of the bilateral relations and expressed the expectation that they will further deepen for the benefit of the two countries and in the interest of peace. The Tunisian head of state conveyed cordial greetings and wishes to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28-29 June 86 p 2 AU] /12913

OUTGOING MAURITANIAN AMBASSADOR--On 30 June Werner Krolkowski, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received for his farewell visit Mohamed Ghali Ould el Bou, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Jul 86 p 2 AU] /12913

OUTGOING AMBASSADOR TO SRI LANKA--On 30 June Junius Richard Jayewardene, president of Sri Lanka, received for his farewell visit Dieter Philipp, GDR ambassador to Sri Lanka. The president expressed his satisfaction with the development of the friendly relations between the two countries. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Jul 86 p 2 AU] /12913

OUTGOING AMBASSADOR TO PHILIPPINES--On 1 July Corazon C. Aquino received Dr Kurt Merkel, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, for a farewell visit. The interlocutors highly valued the development of the friendly bilateral relations. They spoke in favor of using the available opportunities for expanding relations in the interest of their respective countries. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Jul 86 p 3 AU] /12913

OUTGOING AMBASSADOR TO MALDIVES--On 3 July Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, president of the Republic of the Maldives, received GDR ambassador Dieter Philipp for his farewell visit. In the talk the president of the Maldives praised the friendly relations between the two countries. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5-6 Jul 86 p 2 AU] /12913

OUTGOING AMBASSADOR TO BELGIUM/LUXEMBOURG--Heinz Hoffmann, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR, was received for his farewell visits by Baudouin I., king of Belgium, and by Grand Duke Jean of Luxembourg. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12-13 Jul 86 p 5 AU]

BOLIVIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES--On Tuesday [15 July] Herbert Krolkowski, state secretary and first deputy minister for foreign affairs of the GDR, received Orlando Donoso, charge d'affaires a.i. of the Republic of Bolivia to the GDR, for the presentation of his government letter [Kabinettschreiben]. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jul 86 p 2 AU] /12913

NEW DATA PROCESSING DIRECTOR--On 26 June Academy President Prof Dr Werner Scheler appointed Prof Dr Gerhard Merkel as the new director of the Institute for Data Processing and Computer Technology of the GDR Academy of Sciences in Berlin. Professor Merkel has played a substantial role in developing and manufacturing efficient computer technology in the GDR. He was earlier director of the computer-aided design and manufacture section of the Robotron combine. [Excerpt] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jun 86 p 4 AU] /12913

CSO: 2300/509

## NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, COUNCILS STRIVE TO RECONCILE INTERESTS

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 26 Aug 86 p 5

[Article by Erno Keseru: "The Sail of Public Life"]

[Text] What was expected did happen: the rapport of the representatives and council members with their districts and areas became stronger. (It would be good if practice would corroborate our other political and social objectives so rapidly as well.) But, as it was not difficult to foresee, this favorable tendency also has its flaws. In some counties and cities it has already been noted in some forums and surveys that some representatives tend to favor local interests. This is actually no surprise, for the public view still holds that public activity means the achievement of something. And the representative wants to prove himself, even at the price of occasionally having to play the role of a "lobbyist."

Is this a great flaw? Could it have its dangers? In my opinion, all of this is a necessary concomitant of safeguarding interests and public life. For instance, local interests affected the decisions and influenced the making of decrees and laws even when, in times past, every representative and council member began his speech by discussing foreign policy and failed to touch upon everyday life. Peter Schmidt writes in one of his essays: "The question is not whether or not such (local) interests exist but rather to what degree they are channeled into society's public organizational system or to what degree they are excluded from them. The question is, which presents a greater social danger: their participation in the social movement or their exclusion therefrom, whereby their effects are undeterminable since they do not clash publicly with other opinions and interests."

Political practice indicates that in today's complex social and economic circumstances it is professional training and information that are the prerequisites of correct decision-making. But they are not the only prerequisites. The exploration of the various interests and differences of opinion also plays an equally important role in politics. And the latter's responsibility is pretty much given to the representatives and council members. And it is not wrong when the members of the elected bodies assess the activities and concepts of the government and the public administration from their own views and interests, i.e. when the representatives of interests approach issues not so much from the aspect of technicalities but rather from that of politics and

emotions, appealing to public opinion. This is why sometimes they make certain mistakes and do not see the real situation, for public opinion is never unified. For there is no objective measure which can determine which view is the right one: this is the voice of public opinion.

The lot of the representative, the council member, or any other elected public official was much easier in the times when they were not expected to have their own individual thoughts and to view with a critical eye what others submitted. Today, on the other hand, there is an alternative; as a result of the cities' and towns' new jurisdictions, the consequences of individual and material decisions must be accepted. The burden of this responsibility is being felt indeed by the representatives and the council members. And, as they realize that their actions will be evaluated again at the next elections, they are trying to live up to the expectations and, like good players at a game, they are trying to "show off." In their efforts, however, they sometimes get involved in mischief.

No one expects from them any "solemnity of the country's fathers" or any manifestations of pathos and elevated thoughts in dealing with vital national issues. But they cannot be so earth-bound either as to exclude the entire whole, the universal, from their view. Their recommendations and requests cannot ignore whether or not there is a balance between rights and duties.

There are many new representatives and council members who are just getting acquainted with the joys of public life; for them, these are the times of the first attempts. It would be good if no difficulties and sad experiences stood in their way, leading to the realization that dignity and respect are not acquired by personal connections and by one's ability to use one's position of power for one's own interests. The kind of persons who are able to affect public opinion and the masses are those who have their own convictions and are ready to fight for them. And it is not subservience or conformism when someone, yielding to public interests, votes for unpopular but indispensable decrees and is governed by righteousness in determining the hierarchy of needs and taxations.

Even if it sounds commonplace, it will not hurt to remind certain persons that representatives and council members who only criticize and make snappish remarks cannot expect much glory. At least not in the long run. For it is easy today to be popular among certain strata. One only has to make a list of flaws, mistakes and unimplemented decisions. Of course, it is easy to be wise in retrospect about what should have been done. It is much more difficult, on the other hand, to set a correct target or to formulate an appropriate program of action. This is the time when it is easiest to put the blame on the regulations and administrative obstacles, isn't it?...

In examining the work and local actions of parliament committees and teams of representatives, it becomes apparent that their positive aspects dominate. Their work has improved, and their oral contributions have become relevant. In the radio's parliamentary report it was good to hear the comments of a plant manager who was able to bring the atmosphere of workshops into the



meeting room. In another report, the representative, a president of a cooperative, was given more space than the minister himself, for he was able to give such a vivid account of everything that is a source of tension today in the cooperative farms. One council member, too, is always very critical at committee meetings, but he also exercises self-criticism, sweeping before his own door as well, for he realizes that in this way he increases his credibility. The older administrators also realize that if today a public official is only doing eye-service, then the citizens and voters in his district will rapidly become uninterested. And he is going to be alienated by confusing wishes with reality and by passing on requests without personal involvement.

Of course, it is easy to proclaim the model for a right attitude or to allocate red and black points in public when life will test even the broad-minded and ideologically well-equipped individuals. For the social and economic conditions and the factors that affect people's views and actions are much too complex to see in their early stages exactly in which direction they are developing. Still, it is necessary to make a step forward and to adhere to a certain direction even if it does not have an optimum visibility and even if it must be corrected now and then. Szechenyi writes: "...when I say something today out of my deepest conviction, I might say the exact opposite in 10 years, under entirely different conditions. Why? Because the sail is useful only when it is turned to the wind."

This is why I sympathize with those public figures who, full of doubts, are looking for the best solutions and who are not afraid to change their methods and objectives. It gives us hope to see more and more of such individuals. The increase in their numbers is no doubt also due to the general acceptance of the view that if principles thought to be right are proven false by practice, then either the principles or the practice must be changed. This takes place, of course, in a critical atmosphere while many interests clash with one another. Only those can acquire and maintain trust who, in their recommendations and in their joining of others' efforts of improvement, are interested in how the new principle or new method will fit into the socialist value system and how it will serve both communal and individual interests.

And, because society and the economy are in a constant motion, and, to refer back to Szechenyi, the wind's direction and force are also changing, the sail must be adjusted accordingly. In this way, if we navigate well (although not always in a straight path), our ship will always glide toward our destination.

9414/12795

CSO: 2500/315

## GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS MOBILIZE TO FILL STATE AID GAPS

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 1 Jun 86 p 20

[Article by Agnes Horvath: "Self-Assisting Association: Spontaneous Organization, Contradictory Statutes"]

[Text] The official organizations cannot be accused of not following the laws of nature: it took exactly 9 months for registering the newborn which is at this time, unusually, around 60 years of age. In the name of love, 22 elderly persons joined forces in April, founding the Retired Persons' Cultural and Self-Assisting Association with the objectives of providing a meaning to their lives through community work, helping elderly persons to find homes through the organization, building homes for retired persons, bringing together those in need of care with those providing this care, and providing themselves and their peers with cultured recreation and learning. The latter program is the one in which they have the most expertise, for the association that is now officially registered was founded largely by the members of the earlier Nostalgia group that has been active in the Free Time Center of the Almassy Square.

Not too long ago, many people were afraid of these spontaneously organized and self-acting communities. After the liberation, socio-political tasks were taken over by the state, and this led to spectacular and significant changes indeed. Within a short time we made up for a century's worth of delay. But official control also had its drawbacks: social care slowly changed into a kind of impersonal and automatic machinery. The attitude of expecting the state or the various social organizations to take care of problems resulted in people's reluctance to do anything, so they did not even really try to establish self-active groups; or, instead of real help and care for others, they offered only occasional donations.

Part of the truth is that, even if they had wanted to, they could not have organized themselves into welcome and recognized communities, for even the socio-political institutions themselves thought that their job of solving social problems would only be hindered by communities ballyhooing the interests of individual groups. Thus they tried everything to hinder community establishments. But both society as a whole and the individual suffered from the lack of organized communities.

Many things have changed recently, including attitude. The government recognized that it is not expedient, or even possible, to leave social welfare exclusively up to institutions, because there are many more problems than the institutions themselves can handle and, certain kinds of issues can be handled much more efficiently by small and self-reliant communities than by cumbersome administrative machinery. The communities are thus important supplements to the state's institutional system of social welfare and, if they receive enough moral support and occasionally, actual help, they can take over some aspects of social welfare.

The organization of self-active groups is especially significant among retirees. For the improvement of the condition of the elderly is only partly a financial issue. Maintaining the real value of pensions has not been successful in years past, although at present more than 10 percent of national revenue is allotted for pensions. A higher allowance will be possible only when social production is significantly increased. It is certain, however, that the retirees understand this and thus it is unlikely that their community will present unrealistic demands. On the other hand, as they have no one to represent their "separate" interests, their inclusion in the mechanism of decision-making may be beneficial to society. Being the ones most familiar with their own problems, they may come up with ideas and suggestions to improve their lot without any additional cost.

But loneliness, desolation and inactivity are even greater burdens for them than financial problems, and state institutions can do much less in these mostly emotional matters than a smaller community. Sometimes it suffices merely to have someone with whom one can talk, about old memories, and with whom one can share fears of illness and old age. One who sees that others have a greater need will often forget his own problems.

It is hardly necessary to mention that the every-day care of ill and helpless old people can only be handled by hospitals and other health institutions to a certain degree. At the same time, the centrally organized development of a house-care network proceeds slowly because of the lack of resources. Even with the best intentions, today's families cannot offer the necessary care either, because relatives of most of the elderly work and daily care is inadequate. Thus, in this area, society is thankful for every personal contribution and help.

The idea worked out by the association leadership in connection with the retirees' organization is also interesting. Many people want to improve the housing situation by suggesting that elderly persons living alone should move from large apartments into smaller ones, thus making large apartments available to young people and families. But, for the elderly person who lived his life in one place, that place is home, and he is reluctant to move into a strange environment at the end of his life unless friends and care are waiting there. Rent for the apartments in retiree boarding houses, as conceived by the association, would be determined by age, and the purchase price would actually include a right to live there for life. Upon vacating the apartment,

the actual owner could sell the real estate property to the elderly at a price appropriate to age. Everyone would thus benefit. But, at present, the financial and organizational conditions are not present.

Lack of experience and the initial difficulties it causes shows in contradictory statutes. For instance, in order to begin the association's general meetings, at least 10 members had to sign up. By joining, however, the new member had to accept the by-laws which were given to him only at the general meeting. These communities also inherited a lot of organizational and formal inflexibility from their larger predecessors. This was shown, for instance, by voting hands that were raised every minute, after every sentence. It is certain that the organizational framework and rules that will be more appropriate for the character of these small communities will be established in due time.

However, the new Retired Persons' Cultural and Self-Assisting Association is another indication that the social stratum of elderly people is not totally a helpless mass whose problems can be solved from without through various actions and haphazard programs of free time; instead, they must be allowed to help themselves and their peers as much as they can.

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CSO: 2500/316

## PAPER VIEWS ADVENT, RAMIFICATIONS OF AUTO RACING IN COUNTRY

Paris LE MONDE SANS VISA in French 26 Jul 86 p 9

[Article by Jean-Philippe Domecq: "Budapest at the Starting Line"]

[Text] Never has auto racing prompted such ardor, enthusiasm and interest. Formula 1 particularly, which provides crash spectacles whose roughness and brutality do cater to our societies, involved as they are in great challenges of conquests and ultimate successes. A jungle perfumed by gasoline fumes, this racing world is not easy to get into. It takes time to be admitted, time to understand the customs, discern the secrets, and figure out the intrigues.

"They do not know that we are bringing them the plague," Freud reportedly said on landing in the United States. What will the Hungarian people and the "fraternal" peoples say on 11 August 1986, on the day after the Grand Prix of Budapest, the first Formula 1 race to be held on the other side of the Iron Curtain?

In the morning of 11 August, Hungarians will witness the departure of the caravan of "Formula One Circus" and will wonder what they are leaving behind them, these gleaming trucks and travel homes with the trademarks of Marlboro, ELF, John Player Special, and others Canon. No doubt they will not leave only a wake of stickers, pens, and cook stoves, on which Hungarians will throw themselves like savages on glass beads. But also a more volatile remnant than gasoline fumes, more penetrating, and, who knows, with a higher coefficient of ideological toxicity than the hundreds of East-West trade agreements.

If the danger of contamination was so high, one might say, why hold the event? The fact is that the Hungarian Government has worked hard during the past few years to bring about this major first. Unawareness of the risk, or calculated risk? Let us study their motives, before the more obvious ones of the Formula 1 managers.

First motive: the spirit of the time? Formula 1 draws the largest television audience after the Olympic Games and the soccer World Cup, but every 2 weeks. While the sensational final between Niki Lauda and Alain Prost in October 1984 drew more than 1.3 billion television viewers, the Czechoslovak, Hungarian and Chinese newsmen and officials on site at Estoril were not lonely. The fact is that they love it "over there." Jacques Laffite gave us another indication of



this: a good part of his mail comes from Eastern countries. In short, there is a big demand, and the planners of the new Budapest race expect to have 300,000 spectators.

Let us not forget, however, that "over there," while ritually condemning the "Coca-Cola civilization," they have entered marketing agreements with Pepsi-Cola. As for the auto race, this technological fury, they told themselves that it would perhaps be better to give the people this diversion. Particularly because the Marxists share with European intellectuals the illusion that sport is the new "opium of the people."

France may have waited 35 years to have its champion, but as of 11 August more than one Milan or Mihaly will dream to be the first Slav [Hungarians are not Slavs. FBIS] crowned before the year 2000. Who knows, he may be helped by the armies of the Warsaw Pact, which might have an interest in infiltrating and innovating in the "high-tech" of Formula 1, now become as sophisticated as, but less secret than, the military and space technologies. Without mentioning that Gorbachev wants a transfer of technology from the military to the civilian.

#### Czechoslovak Track

Another indication, in connection with industrial technology: along with the Hungarians, the Czechoslovaks are crazy about auto racing. They are in the process of completing a new course 10 kilometers from Brno that could well compete with the Budapest one next year. This Czechoslovak interest in auto racing may be explainable by the industrial tradition of this country (a tradition that is also a factor in the auto enthusiasm of the English--as well as nerve, the necessary and sufficient characteristic for going very fast). Czechoslovakia, whose industry equips the armies of the invader "big brother," will look with shining eye on Formula 1 as a world where "it works."

For after all, to the satellites or to Hungarian spectators and television viewers, Formula 1 puts on show a system of values and myths in which nothing is free. It is certainly not a sport that, like those they are accustomed to, models the ideal of democratic competition: different from the social game--and particularly in a capitalist regime--competition operates with equality of opportunity at the start; and it is a mode for adult citizenship, since everyone, including the public, morally accepts the rules of the civil code that governs any sports decision (cheating on taxes would in sports result in immediately being thrown out of the game). That applies to all sports, but with Formula 1 the competitive dimension inherent in a democratic constitution is particularly emphasized.

Here, passing the other is a risk for him and oneself, strengthened by a shiver that gives the competition its existential value, for passing at high speed is done between danger and vertigo. And to learn that a man covers 3.8 kilometers in 1 minute 40 seconds, that makes an impression on you when you live a daily life in which power failures are no surprise. This thanks to a prestige technology that even further reinforces the double effect, hypnotic and disturbing, of this image of competition on the social unconscious.

An effect that is greatly amplified in an eye that has never seen how Formula 1 gleams, in an eardrum that has never been seared by its roars; and this sport that causes fear while fascinating, it is only the speed, no less than the vertigo that this century has added to the sum of our pleasures.

That said, if the Hungarians have a geopolitical interest in this test (without forgetting the service infrastructure that it requires: hotels, clubs, welcoming services, recreation areas, and night clubs) within their national strategy of an open economy within a closed economy, are they up to it? It is a gamble, not only for them, but also for the experienced organizers of auto racing.

#### Ecclestone's Strokes of Genius

It must be said that the fauna of Formula 1 is waiting for them at the bend, if one can use the expression. Especially when you know the dominant mentality of the fauna. When you know that it includes two representatives such as Jean-Marie Balestre and Bernie Ecclestone, respectively presidents of the FISA and FOCA; when you know that last year Balestre justified continuing the Grand Prix of South Africa in the midst of racial repression, remarking calmly that after all the Portugal Rally had been kept "despite the Socialist revolution" of the carnations in 1974; when you know about the self-satisfied quips that Ecclestone brought back from his talks with such and such Hungarian minister: well, we know in advance about the broadsides of anticommunist jeering that will greet us back from Budapest.

More instructive, the image that Formula 1 will give of our regimes and attitudes. An image amplified by the hypermedia spectacle, first of all. It was that interest that the F 1 managers saw, and there Bernie Ecclestone performed one of his strokes of genius: all world television focusing on the first Grand Prix behind the Iron Curtain.

The cameras will repeat the same publicity extravaganza as at the 15 other world championship circuits, but, around the enclosure, there will not be an excess. The Hungarians will see the O of Marlboro at a certain turn and will see the logo, white and phosphorescent purple, also on the McLarens of Prost and Rosberg. For Marlboro is a partner in putting on this first sport publicity: the cigarette trademark prepares the way, in effect, for its conquest of the Eastern market.

The advertising authorizations, sponsoring, and media marketing today total tens and tens of billions in public investment. Certainly any society in our history and all civilizations have had their potlatch, their prestige expenditures. However, our society, following the aristocratic regime, has always needed a utilitarian cover to justify its extravagance. In this case, the advertising is the pretext for an inflation of spending bordering on the absurd.

One has to believe that some recover their expenditure. Honda, for example, has invested \$30 million in the engine that may earn the Japanese their first world title. Which would mean, in automobile history, that they would henceforth have established themselves as creators. There is no doubt that

that would later be reflected in our trade deficits. The Japanese are so well aware of this that for 2 weeks they have been strongly negotiating supply of their engine to the competition car stables for the coming year. Everyone is for the moment waiting with bated breath for the press conference to be given by Yoshitoshi Sakurai, director of Honda Research and Development, on the eve of the German Grand Prix on 26 July. Between now and then the Formula 1 circuit will have demonstrated that it is not only a technological test bench; but that it is becoming a test bench for trade negotiations in relation to a future market, that of electronic control of our engine operations.

Thus, 2 weeks during which it will be interesting to decipher the rumors and bargaining, prior to the meeting in Budapest of two worlds with very different economic logics.

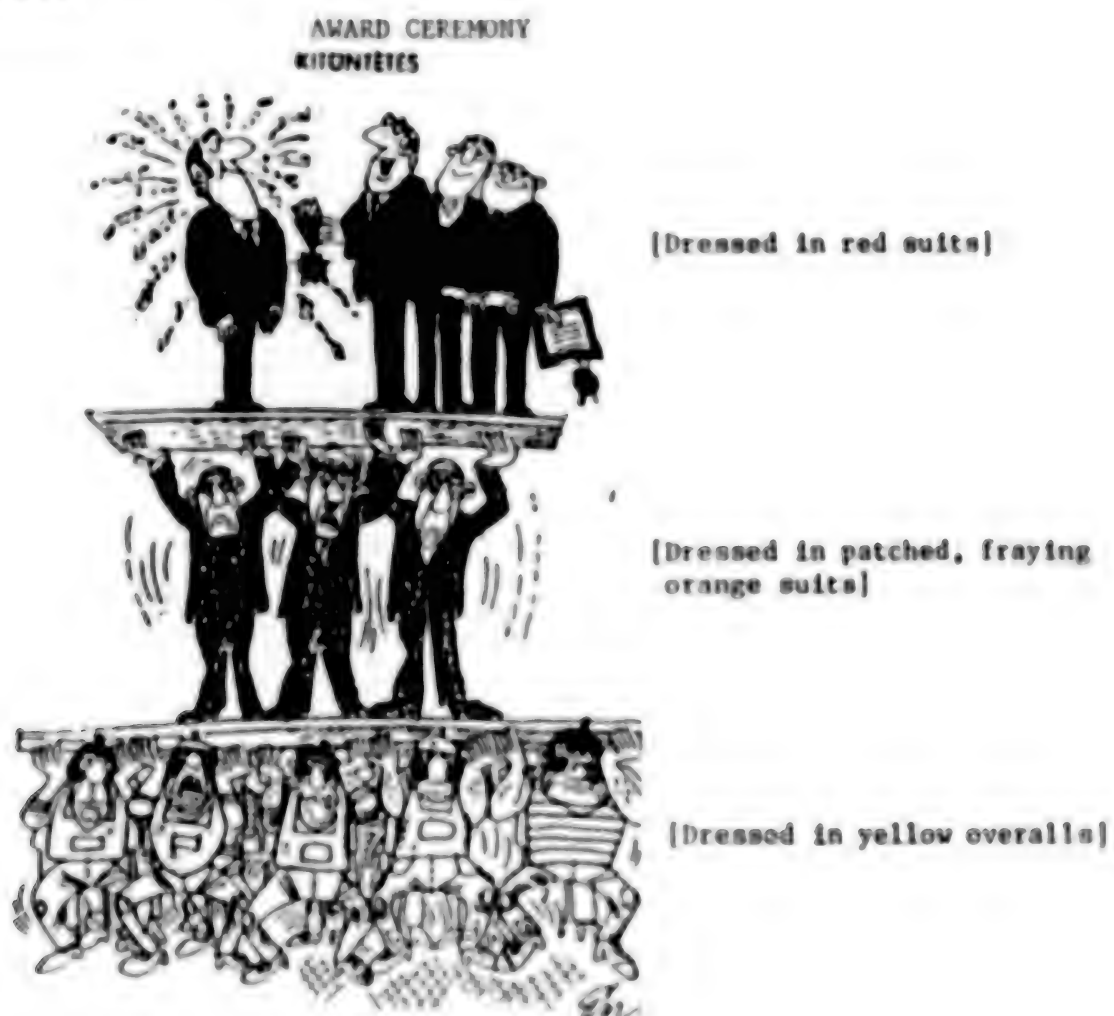
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CARTOON COMMENTARY ON SOCIOECONOMIC SITUATION

Budapest LUDAS MATYI in Hungarian 23 Jul 86 p 6

[Cartoon]



Labor management



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CSO: 2500/424



## PRON. 'CONSENSUS' GROUP OFFICIALS MEET

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Jul 86 p 2

[Text] On 2 July, there was a meeting at the headquarters of the PRON National Council between its vice-chairman, Jozef Czyrek, the secretary general, Jerzy Jaskiernia, and members and followers of the "Consensus" pluralist dialogue group. The, reported on the current activities of the group which functions as an organizer of dialogue between the social and political groups within the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and persons that are not members of that organization. Consensus recognizes the constitutional principles of government of the Polish People's Republic.

The work of "Consensus" also includes intellectuals from philosophical backgrounds representatives of Polish society, Marxists, Catholics and others. Up to now, the work of the group has shown that even with very different sets of views, it is still possible to achieve a consensus on the issues most important to our nation and state and that in itself justifies the continuation of this social experiment. "Consensus" regularly informs the PRON National Council and the Secretariat of the Polish Prime about the work it is doing.

Jozef Czyrek pointed out the support given this group by PRON and expressed his belief that "Consensus" is helping to broaden the platform of national understanding. He also expressed his positive attitude toward the group's proposal to establish a publishing house to popularize the idea of organic work.

The participants to the discussion were Tomasz Bartoszewicz, Renigiusz Bierzanek, Leon Brodowski, Leszek Gilejko, Eugeniusz Kaczmarek, Jerzy Koenig, Jerzy Krawczyk, Marian W. Krzeminski, Andrzej Piekara, Andrzej Polkowski, Tadeusz Przeciszewski, Augustyn Przywieczeraki, Antoni Rajkiewicz, Eulalia Sajdak-Michnowska, Zbigniew Siedlecki, Henryk Tomiczek, Zbigniew Weber, Zbigniew T. Wierzbicki, Sylwester Zawadzki and Alicja Zdybel.

J. Czyrek announced a PRON initiative to lighten legal penalties against persons convicted of certain crimes. There was also some discussion of creating a Public Consultative Council within the Council of Ministers, citizen's conventions within the provincial people's councils and the office of a civil rights spokesman. The officials of "Consensus" expressed their support for these initiatives that would, in their opinion, more strongly involve in public life people that have for various reasons remained aloof from public organizations up to now.

## PAPER VIEWS PERSONNEL FEARS, NEED FOR OBJECTIVE EVALUATIONS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5-6 Jul 86 p 8

[Reprinted fragment of an article originally published in KULTURA containing a statement by Professor Edward Erazmus, director of the Social Sciences Academy Institute of Party Studies: "Personnel Is a Fundamental Issue"]

[Text] Objective evaluations give some an opportunity to act while they place restrictions on others. Some people know that these evaluations can make them look bad and they do everything they can to confuse them even if they have to tie their own hands. For their own peace of mind, they avoid making any earnest evaluations of their subordinates or assess them in such ambiguous terms that their statements can be construed to mean almost anything. This obviously perpetuates our cadre problems and often even worsens them. This strengthens the position of people whose work falls well below standards.

It is clear enough to all that there is no lack of objective factors, especially in the economy, that make it impossible to achieve any real degree of efficiency. This makes one wonder whether the causes of inefficiency go unperceived, whether evaluations are incomplete and if anyone will face the consequences for something that is not their own fault.

And finally, I would like to point out that in the past, there has been too little stability in the criteria we use to evaluate people and conditions. This has given rise to a feeling of uncertainty and insecurity because that which may once have been praised is suddenly declared to be reprehensible. That makes it difficult to take evaluations seriously, especially when one remembers how often the criteria change or sees how temporary and tactical in nature they are.

12261

CSO: 2600/589

## LODZ DEFENSE COMMITTEE HOLDS MEETING

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 12 Jul 86 p 2

[Text] On 11 July, the latest meeting of the Lodz Provincial Defense Committee was held under the direction of the Mayor of Lodz, Jaroslaw Pietrzyk.

On the basis of information provided by the mayor of the village of Brojka, the committee evaluated the defensive preparations being conducted there.

The committee also received information from the director of the Public Administration Department of Lodz University, Ryszard Kolowacik, about the organization and planning work on personal benefits for the Armed Forces.

Next, the director of the Department of Agriculture, Food Management and Forestry, M. Zawadzki, presented information about preparations for the harvest, according to which individual farmers, cooperative and state farms and agricultural services are fully prepared for the harvests which will commence within a few days. As usual, there was also considered the variant of a "wet harvest" and the additional work that this would demand from all of agriculture. Good preparation of equipment will still not prevent trouble during the harvest.

The Provincial Defense Committee is counting on selfless work by factories to repair broken-down equipment.

The committee was informed about the program for the Polish Army's 24th Parachuting Competition and offered its thanks to the commander of the Pomeranian Military District for organizing the event in Lodz which will do much to make the Rebirth of Poland holiday in the city and province much more colorful.

12261

CSO: 2600/ 589

## BIELSKO-BIALA DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETING REPORTED

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 12-13 Jul 86

[Article by [st]: "Chronicle of the Region: Meeting of the Bielsko-Biala Provincial Defense Committee"]

[Text] On 11 July, there was a meeting of the Provincial Defense Committee in Bielsko-Biala under the governor of that province, Stanislaw Luczkiewicz. The committee members were informed about the results of a large-scale inspection conducted earlier at the "Transped" Provincial Motor Transport Cooperative in Bielsko-Biala. This cooperative is operated under some of the worst local conditions. The situation should see a fundamental improvement once this enterprise moves to its new headquarters in Wapienica. The cooperative directors have been ordered to implement all of the recommendations given by the inspectors and to cooperate with various services to resolve all of the water and waste management and protective zone problems at their new headquarters.

Kazimierz Jezierski, vice-chairman of the Union of Motor Transport Cooperatives, participated in the meeting.

Furthermore, the committee received an evaluation of the realization of defense tasks in selected places of work and information about the present state of public safety and order in the province.

12261

CSO: 2600/589

## BRIEFS

KIEV YOUTH IN KRAKOW--A group of 149 youth from Kiev have been invited by the Polish Scouting Union to spend their summer vacation in Krakow and Nowy Sacz Province. Along with a program of recreational activities, our guest from Kiev will also enjoy visits to the most interesting sights of Krakow and the surrounding area. [Text] [Warsaw RZCECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Jul 86 p 1] 12261/12223

CSO: 2600/589



## SCINTEIA NOTES PRC REACTION TO GOBACHEV OVERTURE

AU081106 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Aug 86 p 6

["Specification by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC"]

[Text] Beijing, 6 Aug (AGERPRES)--The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC, cited by XINHUA, has specified through its spokesman the PRC has taken note of and is studying the proposals on improving Chinese-Soviet relations recently made by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. In connection with the Soviet proposal on the holding of a Chinese-Soviet dialogue, at any level and at any time, it was stressed that the dialogue between China and the Soviet Union is taking place at a certain level, however, the problem is that this dialogue yield substantial progress.

It was specified that an exchange of opinion took place recently between experts of the two countries in connection with the joint and complex utilization of water resources of border rivers and that an appropriate accord is to be reached. As to cooperation in space, including training Chinese astronauts, the spokesman said that these questions must be studied.

In connection with M. Gorbachev's proposal on organizing a conference of Pacific countries, it was stressed that in order to ensure security in the Asian area of the Pacific it is essential to proceed to tangible action to tremendously cut back on nuclear weapons and missiles already in place, lessen tensions, and eliminate states of conflicts in various areas in that part of the world. The PRC has also taken note of the proposal on withdrawing a considerable part of Soviet troops from the Mongolian People's Republic, XINHUA agency emphasized.

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CSO: 2020/190

## EX-KING MICHAEL OF ROMANIA INTERVIEWED

Geneva JOURNAL DE GENEVE in French 23 Jul 86 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Michael, former king of Romania by Nicolette Frank: "Romania: Nostalgia For Liberty."]

[Text] Michael I, ex-king of Romania, has spoken out for the first time after 40 years in exile. The interview which he gave to our colleague Nicolette Frank was published by the Paris journal POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE (No 32 Summer 1986) which gave us the permission to reprint it here. The statements and the analyses of the king in exile obviously reflect only his opinions, but they seem to us to throw an interesting light on the internal situation of his country (Editorial Staff).

[Question] Your Majesty has been keeping almost totally silent since the beginning of your exile, in 1948. Why?

[Answer] The Constitution of the Kingdom of Romania, one of the most liberal in Europe still today, entrusts the government with the responsibility of public statements of the monarch. As in Great Britain for example. Now the circumstances deprived Romania of a legally constituted government; under those conditions, I preferred to abstain from any official stand. Upon my arrival in exile, however, it seemed to me indispensable to warn the public opinion of the fact that my abdication was invalid, since it was extracted by force.

[Question] What is the occasion of this interview today?

[Answer] The tragedy that my country has been going through has reached its peak, and I think that it is my duty to break the silence. The Romanian people have not had the right to speak for almost 40 years. First its political elite, then a part of the intellectuals, peasants and workers have been tortured and killed. In this climate of terror, the nation itself is from now on in danger of death, spiritually, morally and physically.

[Question] Why do you reproach the present regime?

[Answer] For substituting the lie for the truth and labeling its failures as "progress." Both in foreign policy and in domestic policy on action has been undertaken for the benefit of the country and its inhabitants; the only ones to have benefited from it are the leaders and the foreign power which secures their power--an absolute power. The economic ruin of this country, formerly the granary of Europe and today the poorest in the Old Continent, proves well that the advantages obtained in the West by means of the Bucharest policy of "independence" were not intended for Romania and its people. The material misery of my fellow citizens goes beyond all comprehension. Yet they complain less about it than about the moral and spiritual misery to which their regime forces them without shame.

[Question] Other states in the area are subject to a comparable fate. Why do the Romanians react less than their neighbors?

[Answer] First of all let us talk about the regime. Everywhere--except maybe in Hungary--it proved to be willingly, or rather intrinsically, incompetent. And this, because it does not aim at improving the lot of citizens, but at making out of them docile instruments to be used for purposes which do not concern them. When one speaks of Romania, one should keep in mind its tightly enclosed geographic position. One should also remember that Romanians were from the beginning the most hostile dictatorship in general, and to the Communist dictatorship in particular. This rejection has two motives: first, Romanians are Latin, and therefore rational secondly, the agrarian reform of 1920, promised by my grandfather and carried out by the Parliament, made them landowners and made them for this reason resistant to the collectivization of their land and to nationalization of any kind. Nevertheless, the Romanian resistance ceased in 1956, discouraged by the Western attitude toward the Hungarian revolt. Let us add the fact that the Orthodox Church is responsible to the power and that the latter uses and abuses repression, all the more so since it knows that it is fundamentally unpopular.

[Question] Is the disappointment felt by Romanians toward the West still enduring?

[Answer] More than ever. Because, since then there were the events of Czechoslovakia and Poland. And, above all, because in accepting an image of "independent" Romania, the West strengthened the power instead. Quite obviously, Romanians are disappointed and discouraged in realizing that the interests of their leaders--whom they did not choose and whom they abhor--are received better than their own aspirations in the West.

[Question] Are the Communist Party and the Ceausescu family the worst solution for Romania?

[Answer] Every regime that is founded on a one-party system represents for a country "the worst solution." And this remark is especially valid for a state like Romania, which was able to prove in a few years--between its independence acquired at the expense of Turks in 1877 and the last world war--how much it is attached to European values.

[Question] Certainly, but you seem to avoid citing persons notably responsible for the present situation....

[Answer] I am the king of all the Romanians, regardless of the political party to which they belong. I condemn the sin, not the sinners. For them, there is the court of men and of God.

[Question] Does Your Majesty think that he will resume his reign one day?

[Answer] I hope to go back to my country as quickly as possible. The republic, at first people's and then socialist, was instituted without consulting the people; it had been imposed by a foreign power.

On the blessed day of the liberation, it would be advisable to restore the status quo ante, and to start a difficult task of rebuilding the country. The Romanian people will have to subsequently decide if they want to preserve the dynasty or not, in the past instituted not only by the Parliament, but also by the people's vote.

[Question] What would be the priorities during such rebuilding?

[Answer] I fully trust the capacities of our people. But we will need time in order to make the country succeed. The most difficult thing will be, it seems to me, restoring the confidence of the people in themselves. They lost it, for not having been able to exercise it, and for not being able to fulfill themselves. The moral recovery will be the first priority in this country where the individuals have no rights but only the duty to be silent and where, in order to survive, corruption and denuncement are the only hope. My ancestor, Carol I, the first king of Romania, experienced similar problems and solved them. Yet Turkish rule had lasted 500 years! Let us hope that the present regime will not have this longevity.

[Question] The moral and spiritual recovery of which you speak is a long term job. Is the economic recovery also going to be long-term?

[Answer] Everything goes hand in hand in democracy. The land will become again the property of those who work it; if they wish to, the farmers will be able to unite themselves into cooperatives in order to acquire the material that they need. Profitable industries will be denationalized. The fire smoulders under the embers in Romania. I do not doubt that men of valor will spring up in due time. They will decide on the strategy to adopt in the struggle for rebuilding. I will be on their side.

When I speak of democracy, I also mean liberty and justice. What I wish above all is that the accumulated hatred does not transform itself into a bloodbath. Whatever may happen, Romania does not run any risks of destabilization in case of a change of regime, since it has a legitimate chief of state ready to return into the country.

[Question] Do the Western leaders still see in you the king of Romania, or simply a dethroned sovereign?

[Answer] On one hand, one has never spoken so much about the self-determination of people; but, on the other hand, nobody is really interested in the enslaved people of Europe. In this area, everything is artificial. My image is subject to repercussions of this phenomenon, in the name of a "realpolitik" which, in reality, proved not to be very realistic.

[Question] A last question. Are you sure that after 40 years of absence the Romanians still remember you?

[Answer] Yes, to judge from the signs that I am receiving: visits and above all letters are coming to me in roundabout ways; they are often from the young people. The school manuals leave out 80 years of Romanian history that preceded the event of the present regime; but the young people ask their parents how they lived before, and who was at the head of the country in those times. Thus they learn of the existence of the dynasty and so on. Moreover, there were links between me and my fellow citizens that I will label "like a family." And, as you know, one does not forget one's family.

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CSO: 2900/10



## ORTHODOX PATRIARCH JUSTIN MOISESCU PASSES AWAY

## Synod Issues Announcement

AU311607 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1530 GMT 31 Jul 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31 Jul--The Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church announces with deep sorrow the death of Patriarch Justin Moisescu.

Born on 5 March 1910, in Albesti Commune, Arges County, he attended the courses of the theologic seminary in Cimpulung Muscel and then graduated magna cum laude from the Faculty of Theology of the University of Athens, where he later got his PhD in theology.

After a brilliant career as a professor with high learning theological institutes at home and abroad, he was elected the metropolitan of Ardeal in 1956. Between 1957 and 1977, he was the metropolitan of Moldavia and Suceava. On 19 June 1977, he was elected patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

In the climate of full religious freedom guaranteed by this country's Constitution and laws, Patriarch Justin Moisescu carried out a vast creative activity, inspired by lofty patriotic feelings, setting a brilliant example of involvement in the efforts of the people whose son he was for the building of a new, modern and independent Romania. He was a steady champion of fine ecumenical relations among denominations in Romania and contributed to the insurance of a climate of mutual respect and understanding among these, with a view to supporting the Romanian people's general effort of progress and prosperity.

In the international relations of the Romanian Orthodox Church, Patriarch Justin Moisescu steadfastly campaigned for a growing contribution of all denominations to the defence of man's most precious asset--the right to life, peace, for the establishment of relations of understanding and cooperation among peoples.

Starting 1961, Patriarch Justin Moisescu was a deputy in the Grand National Assembly in all terms. He also was a member of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

With the death of Patriarch Justin Moisescu, the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Romanian denominations lose an illustrious hierarch and an ardent patriot who devoted his ability and efforts to the church and people he belonged to.

The burial ceremony will be held in the patriarchal cathedral in Bucharest, on Sunday, 3 August.

Metropolitan of Moldavia Telegram to Ceausescu

AU070817 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0628 GMT 7 Aug 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 7 Aug--Teoctist, metropolitan of Moldavia and Suceava, acting patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church, sent a telegram to President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania, expressing on behalf of the synod, clergy and believers of the Romanian Orthodox Church the warmest thanks for the conveyed condolences [on the death of Orthodox Patriarch Justin Moisescu] and for the appreciations in the letter of the State Council, as well as for the fact that representatives of the high leadership of the country attended the funeral. While also addressing due thanks and profound gratitude for the particular understanding you expressed under these sad circumstances, too, reads the telegram, the members of the synod and ourselves, in the capacity bestowed on us as acting patriarch, together with the clergy and the believers of the Romanian Orthodox Church, assure you that we shall further serve with constant devotion the interests of the Romanian people, we shall support with full abnegation the rise of our dear homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania, to new stages of civilization and progress, and the implementation of the country's wise policy of promoting peace and understanding among peoples.

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CSO: 2020/190

## BRIEFS

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARIAN CONCLUDES VISIT--Bucharest AGERPRES (10 Aug)--John Page, member of the House of Commons of Great Britain's Parliament, member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, paid a visit to Romania over August 4-10 at the invitation of the Romanian Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. The guest had talks with representatives of local state bodies of Covasna, Brasov, and Constanta counties and saw round places of economic, social and cultural interest. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1454 GMT 10 Aug 86 AU] /9738

CSO: 2020/190

## CROATIAN CC MEETING DISCUSSES ECONOMY; OVERRULES SUVAR

[Editorial Report] From reports in the Zagreb weekly DANAS and the Belgrade daily BORBA the last meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee in late July dealt with the economy, as well as the election of members to the advisory council of the party's "Vladimir Bakaric" Center for Ideological-Theoretical Work.

In regard to the economy, DANAS in Serbo-Croatian of 29 July 1986 pages 14-15, cited Nikola Lapov, member of the Croatian LC Presidium, as saying: "The LC must not support a climate in which workers, especially through work stoppages, only seek from administrative organs higher personal incomes; but rather they [workers] must, together with administrative organs, bear the responsibility for creating such income.... One should therefore find out in every area who is calling for work stoppages and who is leading them as negotiator; are these the best or the poorest workers...; what should the workers themselves take into consideration, especially since they have all possibilities to achieve their rights through legal means."

DANAS said the occasion for this assessment were the latest strikes in the "J May" shipyard in Rijeka and the "Dalmatinka" enterprise in Sinj, but "its actual base is much wider and more important and could be found in the current economic situation throughout the country, as well as in the general insistence on respecting the laws, obligations, and responsibilities for implementing the stabilizing measures.

"At the same time the...judgment could be made that the LC firmly stands behind its own decision to rehabilitate the economy in the next few years, above all through economic measures and...market laws and to get out of the crisis of many years by stimulating those who know how to operate and by avoiding the socializing of losses, poor actions, or voluntaristic solutions. Fear of the market which has been one of the basic causes of political vacillation in carrying out the stabilization program in the last 3 years has probably started to recede under attack from the latest facts about the actual economic situation which has arisen mostly for the same reason, namely, the partial and slow application of solutions set forth in the stabilization program. What is the latest picture of the economy in Croatia which in 1982 and 1983 first felt the depth of the economic crisis, then in 1984 and 1985 started to get out of it? The picture is quite controversial. Industrial production, in the first half of this year increased 4 percent, employment 3 percent, and personal in-

comes 8 percent in real terms. At the same time labor productivity is stagnating or falling, exports are 16 percent lower, imports 3 percent lower, and inflation is nearly 90 percent. For the first time in 6 years investment in Croatia is increasing, the costs of which are nominally 136 percent higher than in the first half of last year or nearly 50 percent higher than current inflation. The latest analysis of the Assembly's executive council says that newly started projects largely show intensified investment in export branches. But most individual investments are largely in infrastructure projects, such as... [four] power plants, the Molve gas field, the "Univerzijade 1987" program or the Zagreb clinic hospital.... In any case it is clear that increased production is finding its buyers on the domestic market or it is in inventories, and that personal incomes are increasing to the detriment of capital accumulation. Insistence on the consistent application of the latest Federal Executive Council measures and all those measures from the first phase of the stabilization program along with strict respect for legal regulations and self-management obligations are the basis for getting out of the crisis."

In regard to the election of the advisory council of the party's "Vladimir Bakarić" ideological center, it is evident from the DANAS report that Stipe Suvar provoked an "almost 4-hour-long" argument over the inclusion of three new members of the council who were no party members, he opposed other candidates on the list as ideologically inactive, and requested a closed meeting to criticize Zagreb philosophy faculty professors for what he considered anti-Bakarić views. Nevertheless, the entire slate was adopted including several additional members from the Central Committee, following prolonged discussion in which a number of participants spoke up in favor of "expanding and opening up the LC's ideological front" by electing Marxist theoreticians without insisting on their formal party membership. Celestin Sardelić termed Suvar's conduct "politically immature and incorrect." Drago Dimitrović recalled that the last Central Committee meeting had already accepted the view that the LC could safely tolerate the inclusion of individuals whose views did not entirely agree with the general line. Sardelić acknowledged that "it would be easier to stay away from all marginal names, independent personalities, authors of clearly critical orientation, but in the crisis situation today we need to show political trust in concrete people because our policy is being judged on the basis of our offering a real chance to people and not on the basis of whether some of us at a meeting from time to time give a democratic speech." He said the "Central Committee at this time of social crisis in which we are often isolated,... abandoned, and not believed, must have the strength to select the proposed list of [council] members and take the risk of responsibility."

In its report of the dispute, BORBA in Serbo-Croatian of 2-3 August 1986, page 10, also noted that the previous meeting of the Croatian CC had "given its support to broadening the ideological orientation, and this was also built into the CC work program which was unanimously adopted before the discussion about the advisory council. It is difficult to believe, BORBA added, "that CC members forgot what they had voted for." BORBA said that one should not ignore the fact that the advisory council has included people whose work the Croatian CC has looked upon with considerable suspicion, even repugnance. In this connection, a controversy was aired in the press last fall over a never-published issue of the Center's [journal] NAJE VREM which was reportedly cancelled



and replaced because it was said to have included controversial articles by former PRAXIS members.

In conclusion, BORBA noted that only further practice will show whether this latest incident marks the beginning of a "broadening of the Croatian ideological front."

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CSO: 2800/346

## OPINION POLLS SHOW DESIRE FOR 'FIRM HAND' POLICY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jul 86 pp 9-13

[Article by Jelena Lovric, including her interview with Dr Vladimir Goat; date and place not given]

[Text] A weak head always dreams of a strong arm. We recall that aphorism of Vlado Bulatovic, known as VIB, in wondering whether that old proposition is the key to understanding some part of our new reality. For the smile of the "firm hand" has glittered in several places recently: in certain surveys, in everything that has been happening with soccer, and indeed even in certain speeches made at the party congresses. Have the sociologists of disaster or other similar know-it-alls trumped up some malicious new canard asserting that Yugoslavs favor a "firmer" alternative, from what questions were the responses obtained, is the assertion that the "firm hand" is not alien to us a slip on the part of the researchers, or are we dealing with a mistake of another kind? Perhaps certain things have been confused: Perhaps people only would like a little bit more order and responsibility, perhaps resistance is beginning to be expressed to anarchy, which is often what relations in society have been like, as, for example, with the recent tragicomic monkey business over the price of bread. Perhaps only--since we don't know who is listening--people would like to know exactly who is going to pay the piper? Or this society of ours, devoted, at least verbally, to self-management, is now discovering some new inclinations which ought to be unnatural to it? Are we really dealing with some new yearnings, or is it just that we have now been found out? What is it that is so attractive in the "firm hand" or does it take on that fascination only for a society that has gone flabby? Who is calling for it: those who lack power and strength or is it the ones with power sending up trial balloons? And what does this mean for self-management: Does it figure in this triangle as an appendage, as betrayed love (without entering at this point into who has actually been unfaithful), does it mean a new love that is extinguishing the fervor for what we have sworn ourselves to for years or, as often happens in life, by force of circumstances, will they hang in there together? Does this mean a postponement of self-management to some better tomorrow or does this definitively mean for self-management: forget about it? Is this the announcement of giving up?

Questions, questions.... Some can be answered, only the future will speak with authority about some of the others. It is well known, for example, that

according to a survey of what people employed in the socialized sector think about various current social issues and which was done at the level of the entire country of Yugoslavia for the Center for Social Research of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, it seems that among the solutions offered the one that makes the most convincing impression at the moment is the one that advocates a "firm hand." That is, in response to the question: "Our society is experiencing considerable economic difficulties. How should the present problems be overcome?" Slightly more than 15 percent of the respondents chose the answer "Guide the economy and control investments and prices with strong government control." This "firm hand" impression was reinforced by the second-place showing (with 14 percent) of the answer that the solution lay in "Removing all leaders and officeholders who have not produced the anticipated results." To be sure, this answer could also have a self-management connotation, although the way things are, when someone fails utterly at his job and nothing happens to him, there really is good reason to give thoughts to some more resolute alternative. Answers with a clear self-management orientation were in third place: again nearly 14 percent saw the difficulties being overcome by "Consistent application of the principle of remuneration according to work and the results of work," and in fourth place, with one less percentage point, was the group who thinks that "Legal measures should regulate responsibility for economic mistakes." Mirjana Vasovic, MA, who did that part of the survey, says that "the respondents were obviously divided as to the measures they give priority to. First place went to the measures of government control and intervention and to a strengthening of personal responsibility, but a fair number of the responses also favored incentive measures at both the personal and general levels." Although much more has been said about the other parts of the survey, this one went no further and did not analyze who was in favor of what and why this was the case. We have to hope that this will be corrected later on and that certain sharp public reactions will not prevent an excellent team of researchers from taking the job to its completion. Another survey just completed ("On public opinion concerning the social situation and the League of Communists and ideological orientations," which was done for the Center for Ideological-Theoretical Work of the Zagreb City Committee of the Croatian LC by Dr Ivan Siber) has arrived at similar unfavorable results, but even that did not prevent it from stopping halfway. To be sure, according to this survey which was done in Zagreb (and that might explain some of the differences that occur in the results), firm government control did not win first place, but only fifth place, and in Zagreb the first place went to what was in fourth place in the Yugoslav sample: "Legal measures should regulate responsibility for economic mistakes." But the overall distribution of the responses was still quite similar, and when all of this is scientifically collected and emphasized, when the responses are put in certain groupings which indicate certain broader commitments, then it turns out that 44 percent of those polled see the way out of the crisis in the solutions having to do with the government and legislation, 33 percent favor self-management, 16 percent of the answers are close to liberal solutions, and 7 percent are close to technocratic solutions.

Siber himself is aware that any such grouping does a certain violence to the data, that such divisions are very fluid and quite elusive, since, for example, the response about the "unified Yugoslav market and abolishing all the

republic economies," which he has placed in the group of self-management solutions--to be sure, very provisionally, as he says, but still...--might also have certain other overtones. Nevertheless, with all those reservations Siber feels that the grouping of responses is useful, since it speaks much more panoramically about the commitment of the public.

Silvano Bolcic uses a somewhat different grouping to arrive at the conclusion that 45 percent of those polled favor self-management, which according to him is the dominant orientation. Bolcic asks whether the tendency behind the declaration "greater commitment and responsibility of the LC" is toward self-management or the "firm hand," for him the choice "removal of all leaders and officials who have not produced the anticipated results" is basically a self-management orientation, a demand that work be taken as the basic principle and as a basic responsibility. Or: "commitment of mind, intelligence, and make it possible for it to make decisions directly" could be a technocratic tendency, but also a modern conception of the alliance between work and knowledge, that is, it would not be outside what is proper to self-management.

But regardless of the possibility of this or that grouping, regardless of certain objections, it would be difficult not to agree with Siber that there is an "obvious marked commitment to seek the way out of the difficulties primarily in legal responsibility, which is associated with government regulation, and the reference to responsibility for the situation that has come about lies at the basis of this. Here we have responsibility for economic mistakes, privileges, and abuses as well as the incompetence of leaders. Such responses are not surprising. In a social crisis people become much more sensitive to moral problems, they take note of individual guilt and they seek a general, unambiguous, and firm regulation of mutual relations. Lacking confidence in themselves that they can solve problems in their own community, much less more widely, through self-management action, they incline toward a formal and unambiguous criterion--a law."

As for the distribution of global ideological orientations, then the results are somewhat different than concerning the way specific roads out of the crisis are seen. Siber says that the figures of the survey unambiguously indicate a pronounced acceptance of the self-management ideological orientation, since only 1 percent of those polled have a negative attitude toward self-management, 34 percent are neutral, and 65 percent are favorable. But this is almost matched by the acceptance of the egalitarian-statist orientation, toward which about 9 percent have a negative attitude and 36 percent a positive attitude. Yet there are indications that arouse doubt as to this universal acceptance of the self-management idea. Since it is a question of the basic proclaimed values of this society, the question is to what extent their acceptance is a matter of authentic persuasion and to what extent this does not go beyond words, to what extent such verbal symbols as the working class, self-management, which in our context have a considerable ideological charge, are accepted without thinking as something that is a priori positive, while their real meaning is not put in a concrete context. If views toward self-management are interpreted as a kind of mythology or, as someone has said, our secular religion, then it is possible to explain that in society, but still more in individuals, there exist side by side positive commitments to self-management and a predisposition to statist-egalitarian solutions in concrete terms.

This support of self-management, which in part at least is only verbal, which prevails, at least in proclamations, as the ideological orientation in society, can explain the rather large diversity, inconsistency, and independence among the social positions of groups and individuals on the one hand and their social consciousness on the other. It turns out not to be altogether accurate that a "man thinks as he lives," that is, that his interpretation of particular social problems or his vision of the way out of the crisis will be determined by his position in the social structure, by his privilege or feeling of being squeezed, by his place on the social ladder. To be sure, Siber is unambiguous to the effect that the egalitarian-statist orientation is more deep-rooted among those who are in a straitened when it comes to distribution of the benefits of society. By contrast with the self-management and ethnic-religious orientation, this is exclusively related to age, education, and place of birth. Egalitarianism is most cherished among young people, which is explained by the pronounced openness of youth, which harbors a certain optimism about the common cause and equality, while young people as a rule have not yet acquired anything which they might lose. Moreover, that tendency has its point of support in the strata with elementary and secondary education, while those with higher education stand altogether apart, which could indicate that they also differ in their position in distribution, and in part probably also with respect to their idea of where equality in poverty maintained by government regulation would lead. Siber sees the influence of education on that ideological orientation as a confirmation that the "attitude toward egalitarianism expresses a desire to equalize their depressed social position, while the attitude toward statism signifies a seeking of a government guarantee, a firm hand, to solve that problem."

Thus Ivan Siber concludes that the figures of the survey "unambiguously indicate that individuals in the position of the working class accept egalitarian-statist solutions to a considerably greater extent than others, while at the other end are individuals from 'government departments and agencies.' Their position is the result of higher education, but also of a certain privileged position in distribution." The answers of those who work in the "social services" are especially interesting; they also have a markedly negative attitude toward egalitarianism, which is altogether logical because most of them have had higher education, but at the same time they are very open to statism. Probably the position of those activities, which have been encountering a number of difficulties in the self-management exchange of labor, sets up the demand for a stable "enlightened" government regulation.

But in a discussion organized concerning Siber's survey by the Zagreb Center for Ideological-Theoretical Work Silvano Bolcic expressed reservations about a result which, as he put it, was being bandied about, to the effect that the egalitarian-statist orientation marks the workers or those who are in direct production more significantly than other parts of society. At the same time he explained that most surveys state the ideology in very general terms, which is why the appearance is created that there is no very strong correlation between certain expressions of social consciousness and social position. If, say, we study the attitude toward self-management as the attitude toward ideology in general, then, Bolcic says, it is possible that we will get the kind of results that people are getting: that the strata closer to the institutions



of the system will be in favor of self-management, those who identify more with it, the higher-level or leading strata, while precisely those whose basic interests we believe are expressed by self-management will display slightly smaller acceptance of the self-management ideology. But if the ideology is expressed in terms which are a bit more specific, then it will turn out, Bolcic says, that those differences are after all somewhat different. He has given the example of a survey in which the workers were in fact those who voted in the smallest numbers for "giving greater powers to government bodies in order to correct the things that are wrong more rapidly."

Niko Tos, Slovenia's Gallup, who for years has been the only one in Yugoslavia to stick uninterruptedly with the study of public opinion, would not agree with Bolcic--on the basis of many years of research and also on the basis of the most recent results. He says that in all strata, and also in individuals, there is a significant coexistence of the orientation toward self-management with a simultaneous acceptance, expression, or hint of elements which science interprets to be statist. Nevertheless, statism has its basis in a strong tie-up with egalitarianism in the lower strata of society, while the orientation which we would provisionally define as the self-management one and would to some extent say is nonegalitarian, has its principal social base in the higher strata.

Mirjana Kasapovic added for her part an "explanation for reflection": She said that certain quite recent Yugoslav surveys, including Siber's, according to which the influence of socioeconomic status on ideological and political orientations is declining, coincides altogether with certain worldwide surveys which show that work, both when it comes to communities and when it involves individuals, is losing that central place which it previously had, and certain other features are participating more and more in the shaping of political and cultural values: family status, state of health, ethnic background, religion, outlook on the world, and the historical experience of the community in which one lives.

All in all, regardless of the quality of acceptance of the self-management ideological orientation and regardless of the fact that it is more or less (somewhat less) dominant, the egalitarian-statist syndrome figures, as Radule Knjezevic has put it, in "perception as a commitment and as a desirable social practice. The question is how much it determines the self-management socialist development of society." Yet the question can and must be put the other way about as well: To what extent has that syndrome and its existence been determined by the way in which self-management solutions have been implemented, that is, by the fact that every day, almost without any pang of conscience at all, we prove in practice that our self-management is unsuccessful. Siber says that there is good reason to conclude that there have been certain changes in social consciousness in the period just past and that those changes certainly have been caused by the difficulties in social development, above all in the achievement of self-management relations. This squares with that theoretical postulate to the effect that prolonged failure to achieve some commitment puts even the commitment itself into jeopardy after a certain time. Or: There is nothing so baneful to society's commitment to self-management as looking every day at the way in which self-management is evaded. That is why

we see as hypocrites those soul-savers of self-management who have now become so angry at the scientists for having brought to light that there are stronger tendencies now toward a "firm hand" in our society, when often for years they themselves have been working to compromise self-management, with one hand they have been swearing allegiance to it, while with the other they have been holding tight to the billy club of government power. Acknowledgment of the true state of affairs is perhaps the first step toward changing it, and to that extent these surveys may be an inspiration for a policy that would claim to be responsible.

"We must be concerned," Zoran Vidojevic tells us, "when a majority of the social strata threatened by the crisis see the government as a social savior and a strong party in the sense of a strong party machine and a strong party in power. I am afraid that we might move over a bit into the realm of not only state socialism in the usual sense of the word, but into what I would call a Balkan version of state socialism. And that is much worse yet and at a historically lower level than the modern technocratically conceived state socialism that exists today in certain societies.

[Box, pp 10-11]

Goati Interview: Hopes for the Future

On the basis of a survey conducted under the direction of Dr Vladimir Goati the public has been given the impression that tendencies toward a firm hand have become stronger in Yugoslavia.

[Question] We asked Goati whether that can actually be said on the basis of the survey or whether such an impression resulted from some construction or error?

[Answer] I think that here again, as is usually the case, the questions were raised by an interpretation of the data obtained in that preliminary survey that was arrived at rather hastily. The picture it took of the present situation--like all other cross sections, it has its advantages, but also its shortcomings--nevertheless reflects the views and opinions of the various socio-occupational groups, reflects the empirical consciousness of employed Yugoslavs. Several answers might perhaps suggest the impression that people were readied for a solution--if it might be so called--based on the firm hand, but I think that here we should be cautious in our interpretation. Since we have already been in a serious economic and broader social crisis for a long time now, and since every crisis is at the same time a redistribution of the national wealth: some people are living rather well, while a very high percentage of the employed labor force, above all the workers, and here we will not even talk about the unemployed, are below the level of normal human subsistence, we can say that we are not in favor of leveling as long as we like, how what we need is selective remuneration, how we will not adopt an ideology of equal stomachs. But we should not forget the fact that all people do nevertheless have a stomach. In such situations it would be surprising if authoritarian tendencies did not become stronger. These are notorious facts that have long been clear, nothing here is either unexpected or unknown.

People must above all live--that is an elementary truth. If they are threatened there, if we have more than 1.1 million people unemployed, mainly young people who have never even had an opportunity for employment, then they are apt to favor any alternative of a solution. For me it is infantile to be surprised at the kind of answers we obtained in taking this picture of "Yugoslav consciousness."

[Question] It is not a question, then, either of mistakes or of wrongly put questions?

[Answer] The survey was done *lege artis*, in a manner that was methodologically correct. It is a well-known trick to blame the methodology for unwelcome data in order to deny an unfavorable reality. The researchers can answer only for the technique, but not for the results of the survey nor for the picture of reality which might possibly not be to someone's liking. I think that it is a great thing that we have become aware of these unfavorable things; to be sure, they are not in fact altogether new, those are things we already knew, but the survey also offers some new dimensions. It is rare for a sociological survey to provide any completely new data, but certain new relations are evident between phenomena, relations, their genesis. It is always a question of what this really means, say, a figure of 5 percent on behalf of some choice at a particular moment. Five percent might be a negligible number, but in certain situations 5 percent may even be a majority for tomorrow. This is what no empirical survey can forecast, and a researcher who is so captivated by the percentages that he does not see the social life that is pulsating beneath them might easily estimate that those 5 percent are not worth mentioning if he is not at the same time aware that history has demonstrated how those 5 percent might represent 55 percent the next day.

[Question] But you have a series of surveys. Is it possible to speak about certain trends?

[Answer] There has been a growth of pessimism, which is not very hard to explain. This is evident in the forecasting of the time required to get out of the crisis and to obtain a job, in the increasingly gloomy view of what life offers over the next several years. Hopes are being pushed into an ever more distant future with every passing year.

[Question] If there is an increasing inclination toward authoritarian solutions, does this at the same time mean that there has been disappointment with the self-management strategy?

[Answer] One can hardly say that. It is a major mistake to see as authoritarian every view that the government should have a larger role, and it is especially a mistake in Yugoslavia where we have a very expensive and ineffective government instead of one that is cheap and effective. These dreams about a society without a government have been dispelled once and for all, and this society which desires self-management--I think this is the right way to put it, rather than the phrase which presupposes that self-management has been achieved--must have an effective, inexpensive, democratic and responsible government. Yet we don't. If, say, people advocate that the government guarantee

the support prices of grain, then that is an altogether normal function of a government which no one else can perform in its place in all civilized societies of the world, and presumably also in ours, which does not represent the height of civilization, and it probably won't, as Professor Lukic has put it, for the next 1,000 years. I would not proclaim every mention of the government as an inclination toward things that are authoritarian or statist, especially in a situation when a government is not doing its job in a number of sectors.

[Question] How would you explain the results obtained, are we dealing with authoritarianism or not?

[Answer] I think that this is an expression of a very understandable dissatisfaction and of a certain growth of pessimism toward the ideological blueprint which for certain reasons has not been implemented as was wished, so that people are inclined to look for shortcuts. It is quite certain--history shows it, one need not go far into the past--that the inclination toward authoritarianism is highly correlated to dissatisfaction with the present situation, and that dissatisfaction is continuing to grow in our country for well-known reasons.

[Question] Is it possible to speak about a stronger grounding of the authoritarian tendency in certain social strata?

[Answer] On the basis of the data I could not confidently point my finger at any social group which is somewhat more inclined to authoritarian solutions, but we should bear in mind the rule, almost the law, that such tendencies increase in proportion to unsuccessfulness in tackling the issues of life in the right way.

[Question] There are those who say that such inclinations are more noticeable in the lowest strata.

[Answer] That altogether coincides with the explanation that the inclination toward authoritarianism arises out of dissatisfaction with the present situation. It is obvious that people who cannot find a place under the sun are ready to accept any alternative solution, and the question of the means, be it self-management, socialist, or any other, becomes unimportant if they are solving a question of their existence. These matters are clear, at least they were for Marx.

[Box, p 12]

Answers to the question: How should the present economic difficulties in our society be overcome? The first column shows the order and percentage of responses in the Yugoslav survey, and the second pertains to the data (once again the order and percentage) obtained by the survey in Zagreb.

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Yugoslavia</u>		<u>Zagreb</u>	
	<u>Order</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Order</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Guide the economy and control investments and prices with firm government control	1	15	5	7
Replace all leaders and officials who have not produced the expected results	2	14	2	14
Through consistent implementation of the principle of remuneration according to work and the results of work	3	14	3	13
Regulate responsibility for economic mistakes by legislative measures	4	13	1	16
By forming a unified Yugoslav market	5	9	9	6
Stimulate personal initiative and develop what is referred to as "small business"	6	8	4	10
By nationalizing private property, which is the result of privileges, theft, and abuse	7	7	8	6
Through consistent implementation of self-management and respect for the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor	8	5	7	7
By a commitment of "intelligence" and by allowing it to make decisions directly	9	3	6	7
Through greater commitment and responsibility on the part of the LC	10	3	12	3
By restricting all forms of social and personal consumption	11	3	15	1
By eliminating all middlemen and making it possible for the class--the direct producers, to manage the affairs of society directly	12	3	10	4
By making it possible for foreign capital to invest in our economy	13	2	11	3
By making it possible for the market to operate freely without government guidance and control	14	2	14	1
By making it possible for those returning from abroad to open privately owned enterprises	15	1	13	2

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## AUSTRIANS INTERVIEW CARDINAL TOMASEK ON CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Paris LE MONDE in French 1 Aug 86 p 4

[Text] Vienna (AFP)--The Czechoslovak Government wants to "reduce" the Catholic Church "to slavery," Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, Archbishop of Prague and Primate of Bohemia, stated in an interview published by the Austrian daily KURIER on Wednesday 30 July. Msgr. Tomasek, who has called for a separation of church and state for many years, considers that "believers in Czechoslovakia are ready to provide for the needs of the Church" and expresses optimism about the Church's future in his country. According to him, "the religious influence of the Catholic Church has never been as strong. More and more young people are concerned with the essential question of the meaning of life."

According to Msgr. Tomasek, even some members of the Communist Party have their children baptized, despite the rigorous control which the state exercises over the Church. He emphasized that "these baptisms often have severe consequences for those involved."

The Czechoslovak Government official in charge of religious affairs, Mr. Vladimir Janku, has for his part denied Msgr Tomasek's remarks alleging that the number of practicing Catholics has not stopped declining in Czechoslovakia. In an interview with KURIER, Mr. Janku nevertheless denied the application of "sanctions" against individuals who have their children baptized. "Families are simply questioned on this matter," he explained.

Mr. Janku has, moreover, accused President Reagan of using the Church "as a means of fighting communism" and of seeking to "destabilize the Czechoslovak regime" by encouraging the struggle between the Church and the state.

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## PAPER REPORTS HOSPITAL BED SHORTAGE, PATIENTS SENT HOME TO DIE

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 10 May 86 p 7

[Article by Maria Lukacs: "They Sent Her Home To Die"]

[Text] The incurable patient is called infaust. Infaust, in Hungarian, means hopeless, futureless. This adjective--in our case--is doubly applicable, both to the patient and to the fate of similar patients.

The patient's name is Mrs Istvan Kovacs. Two years ago she underwent radical breast surgery for cancer. Because the cancer was so extensive even then, her prospects could hardly have been promising. Recently, her pain had constantly increased, and her son Gyorgy had been injecting her twice daily with Dollargan. Her 80-year-old husband had been dressing her scars from the operation.

## Cared For With Good Advice

"I called home several times a day to find out how mother was doing," says Gyorgy Kovacs. "This happened as usual on Wednesday, 16 April, when my father replied anxiously that her scar was rapidly bleeding. I called up the district physician, who ordered an ambulance to take her to the surgery department of the Robert Karoly Boulevard Hospital. They took good care of her there, but she was very sick, and it seemed that her pain could not be soothed. I was horribly shocked when they announced on Friday that they would send her home. I even got into an argument with Dr Bela Herczeg, the chief of surgery, over it.

"I went in early Saturday morning and sat on the edge of my mother's bed for hours, then I went home to rest a little and eat something. Hardly a half hour passed before the paramedics appeared. They had brought her home. She moaned in pain, the poor thing, and was wearing a catheter because she could no longer hold her urine. They supplied me with good advice: to change the catheter, I should call the urologist; to change the bandages, the district physician or surgeon....

"She had horrible pains. I called the doctor on duty to prescribe more Dollargan, but that only helped for 1 or 2 hours. On Sunday the doctor on duty visited three times, and even prescribed two ampules of morphine. This way we somehow suffered through till Monday, then the district physician wrote another prescription for morphine, which I took to oncology. Then I got the prescription authorized at the council, because that is the standard procedure,

and gave my poor mother the morphine. My father raised her and turned her on the bed when necessary.

"On Tuesday the district physician saw the patient, who was worn out with pain, then after a little while the surgeon from the clinic Dr Laszlo Furedi, arrived to re-bandage the scars.

"When he was finished," remembers Gyorgy Kovacs, "the doctor noticed that she was breathing so strangely. 'She is dying,' he said softly, and sent father into the next room. Then I closed her eyes.... It was a horrible 3 days. All three of us knew that the end was not far away. We just didn't understand how someone in that condition could have been sent home from the hospital."

Was It Necessary?

"It was necessary to send her home," replies Dr Bela Herczeg, chief of surgery, "we have acute admission constraints. Besides, we stopped the trickle of blood, caused by the palm-sized area of new cancer growth, with a pressure bandage, and there was little need to admit her. If we were to admit every such patient, there would be no room for the curables. There could be dozens of similar complaints every day. We have such burdens upon us: the elderly, inoperable patients, injuries from intoxication. It would be logical to transfer them to the chronic department, but that takes months."

Thus, was it necessary to send her home? We can only answer that in light of the facts, knowing how surgery utilizes its beds. Of the 78 beds in the department, on Friday, 18 April, 71 were occupied, and nine patients left during the day. On Saturday there were 17 empty beds, on Sunday 18. But on Monday the department was on admitting duty: six patients left, twenty-four were admitted, and there were no empty beds. On Tuesday they closed the day with two empty beds.

"She should not have been sent home on Saturday," emphasized Dr Mihaly Fovenyi, director and chief surgeon. "In any case, it could have waited until Monday, when the department could contact the district physician, preparing him, so that by the time the ambulance took her home, the help would be ready immediately, so that the patient would not be left alone. Anyway, it is my conviction that birth and death should happen in hospitals. The former usually happens that way, but death is different. And there is no doubt that objective factors also come into play in that."

False Value Standard

"Every hospital wants to send infaust patients home," claims Dr Laszlo Furedi, with definite disapproval. "The mortality rate (death statistics) is a value standard, but, I am convinced, a false value standard."

In continuation of this honorable thought, there can be no statistical aspect that justifies sending the dying patient home. The other argument, concerning the objective reasons, deserves more consideration. It is true that the now-chronic need for hospital beds is involved here. This need has been asserted

to death, along with the chronic tardiness of the solution. The resulting "infaust," the mass of social problems, could provide many hopeless cases similar to that of the Kovacs family.

These cases cast doubt on the right to an appropriately dignified death. They also are inappropriate to the attribute "humanist" which characterizes our society.

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